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WILLIAM WILKINSON ESQ. M.P.

MEMORIALS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

1807

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A  
**LETTER**  
TO  
**WILLIAM WILBERFORCE**  
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN  
*&c. &c. &c.*  
CONTAINING  
**REMARKS ON THE REPORT**  
OF THE  
**SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, AND**  
**INSTITUTION:**

WITH  
**HINTS**  
RESPECTING THE MEANS BY WHICH AN UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF  
MIGHT BE CARRIED INTO EFFECT.

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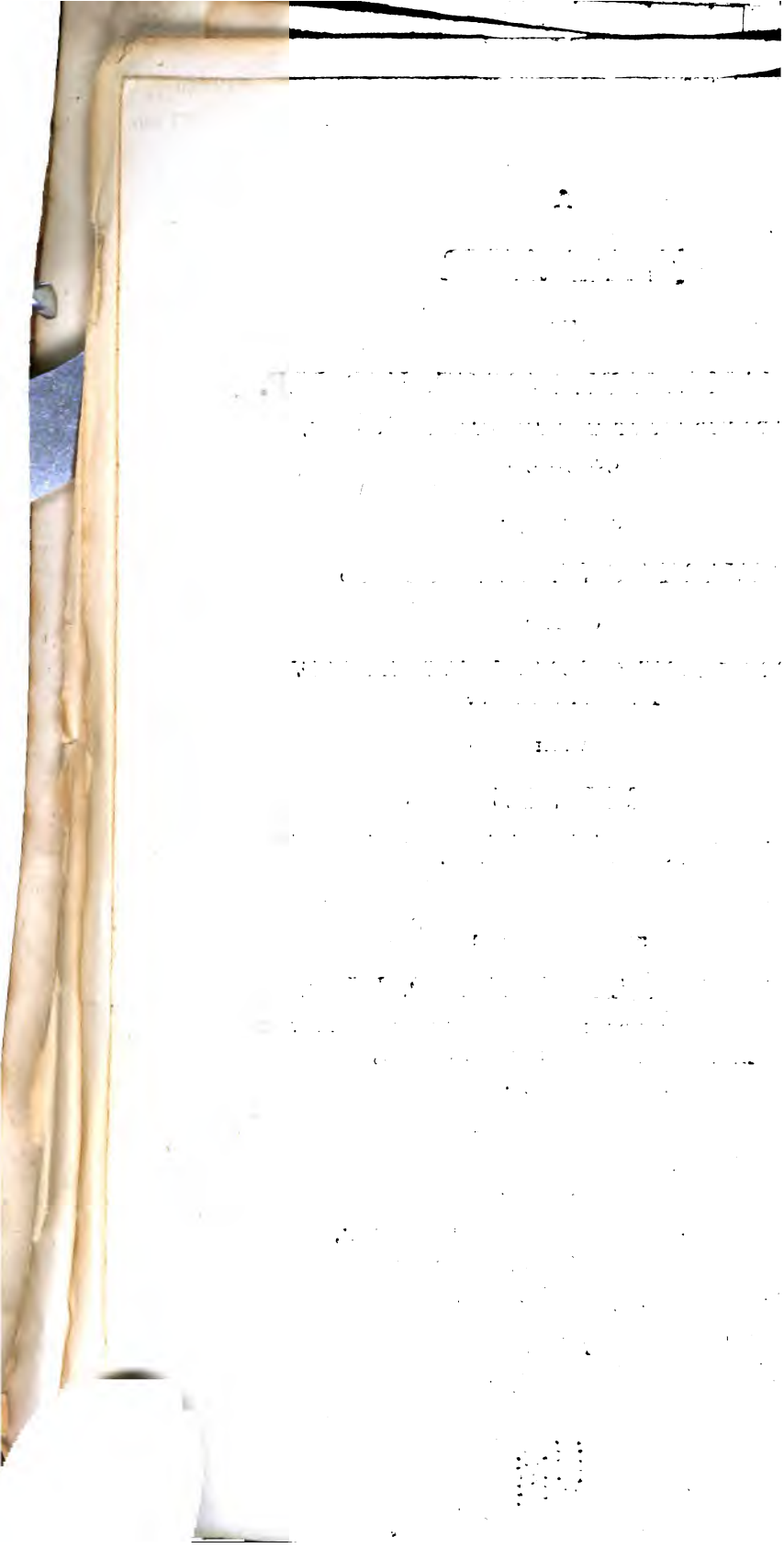
**BY ROBERT THORPE, ESQ. L**  
CHIEF JUSTICE OF SIERRA LEONE, AND JUDGE OF  
ADMIRALTY COURT IN THAT COLONY,  
*&c. &c. &c.*

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**1815.**





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TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTE

8c. 8c.

SIR,

THE unbounded benevolence and unflinching philanthropy attributed to you, I am constrained to induce you to excuse this hasty and unpolished epistle; but my continuance in England being uncertain, I am impelled precipitately to present myself to you, and to the publick.

You have been for above twenty years the patron of Sierra Leone, and you are the "Father of the Abolition." The efforts and exertions for that colony, and the spirit of disinterestedness in support of the abolition, I am proud to prove, that I have been as sincere a friend as any, and practically as beneficial a promoter, as any unassuming individual. I should consider it a dereliction of duty, and a proof of insensibility, to neglect myself at all times in this great cause

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calamitous accounts I have recently received from Sierra Leone, and the awfully pending state of the abolition, imperiously demand from me some effort at this moment. Private exertion I have exhausted; from high authority I am personally excluded; therefore to public appeal I am driven. It is the only means by which I can fulfil my duty to the King, prove my attention to the colony, over which I judicially preside, and manifest my zeal for the civilization of Africa, and the abolition of the slave trade.

I shall commence with a review of what has been done from the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company\*; whose avowed objects were to “encourage trade with the west coast of Africa; to promote cultivation, advance civilization, diffuse morality, and induce some attention to a pure system of religion in Africa;” as also, “not to suffer their servants to have the slightest connexion with the slave trade; neither to buy, sell, or employ any one in a state of slavery; and to repress the traffick as far as their influence would extend.” This was a wise and truly beneficent plan, promising wealth to England, and happiness to Africa; but I have inquired, and have found that no part of it was ever carried into effect.

\* Vide their Report for 1794, printed by Phillips, George-yard, Lombard-street.

The Company obtained, in a very short time, a superabundance of land, finely situated, and well circumstanced on the Sierra Leone river \*, in exchange for a few insignificant articles of merchandise ; they collected together from London, Halifax, and Jamaica, near two thousand settlers at very little expense ; they had zealous and affluent supporters in England ; they had unprejudiced and tractable (though unenlightened) natives to negotiate with ; and they had near two hundred and fifty thousand pounds capital ; yet they very quickly made the natives suspicious, the settlers discontented †, their best servants were obliged to seek establishments under the native chiefs ‡ ; and although they had a monopoly of the trade, and their will was the regulation of profit, they sunk almost to bankruptcy, from causes enveloped in mystery, and applied to Government for support and protection §. To the Nova Scotia settlers they promised land for cultivation ; twenty acres to each man || ; ten for his wife ; and five for each child ; but this promise they never fulfilled ¶ : no man was allowed above a fifth of the land to which he was entitled ; and implements to cultivate, even such a portion, were difficult to find, and too expensive to

\* Falconbridge's Account, 1792, also the Agreement with King Naimbana, and Company.

† Appendix, No. I.

‡ Some of them returned to the colony after the Abolition act passed, and reside there at present.

§ Vide Parliamentary grants.

|| Lieut. Clarkson, who signed the agreement.

¶ Settlers remonstrated in vain, then ensued an insurrection.



procure. The settlers could not raise in the colony even rice and yams for subsistence; their very existence depended on a supply from the neighbouring rivers. Had land been granted at the commencement to the settlers as promised; had they been enabled to cultivate, and raise provisions for consumption and barter, they would soon have rendered themselves independent of, and less profitable to the Company;) whose storekeeper purchased provisions from the natives, paid for them in merchandise\*, and sold them to the settlers; this might have produced little profit, but it secured great control. Even the plants indigenous to the soil remained uncultivated. Cotton, coffee, indigo, tobacco, &c. &c. were conspicuous; but it was in all the wildness of nature. Such were their efforts to promote cultivation.

In civilization, they proceeded so far as to send two persons to Teembo † (a few days walk from Sierra Leone), and educated half a dozen African boys in England, sufficiently, for common clerkships in the colony.

As to religion and morality, they had a Church of England clergyman for a few months ‡, and a missionary for a few years; but they had Methodist teachers and preachers in abundance; the benefits

\* Falconbridge's Account, p. 189.

† Vide Company's Report.

‡ Falconbridge's Account.

derived from their precepts may be imagined, from the missionary assuring me on his leaving the colony in 1812, relinquishing his house and 350*l.* per annum, "that he could do no good there, as the inhabitants were too far sunk in sin and immorality; that he would remove to the Boollam shore, try new ground, and endeavour to instruct the natives, improve their condition in this life, and prepare them with a knowledge of, and conduct for the world to come." Lastly, their servants constantly purchased the natives\*, worked them themselves without pay, and hired them to others, for pay; suffered slaves to be brought in and taken out of the colony; allowed them to be seized and delivered to their masters when they sought protection; permitted their storekeeper to supply the slave factories†, slave ships, and to feed the trade in every possible way. Even in Mr. Ludlam's last administration of the government, two cargoes of slaves, taken from the Americans, were publicly sold at twenty dollars a head‡. So much for their efforts to repress the slave trade, of which they had professed such an abhorrence, and which the act of parliament for incorporating the company, forbade them to pursue. Is it possible the directors did not know, hear, or believe this, or any part of it? If disapprobation had attached to such conduct, is it

\* Given in evidence, on oath, before Governor Thompson and Chief Justice Thorpe.

† Abundance of proof of this in the colony.

‡ Documents to prove this may be found in the High Court of Admiralty as transmitted by Governor Thompson, in 1808-9.

probable they would continue in their confidence, after they had heard of it, the persons who managed their concerns? Or did they imagine by trumpeting their abhorrence of this diabolical traffick, fulminating against every person implicated in it, and blazoning the virtues of those who seemed anxious to exterminate it, that they would prevent those transactions from being divulged; or if revealed, that they could induce this nation to discredit any authority that might dare to give them utterance? The Omniscient will know and judge; impotent humanity, may conjecture!

After sixteen years experiment, trade having failed; cultivation being retarded, civilization unattempted; religion and morality debased, and the slave trade nourished; every plan defeated, every artifice exposed; the Company, desirous of relieving themselves from the enormous expense, prevailed on government to accept a surrender of the colony\*, and formed (to uphold their old influence) a society called the African Institution: having taken leave of the expense, they demanded to be paid for their buildings, and did accordingly receive a large sum from the treasury†, although they had before obtained (by pleading poverty) one hundred thousand pounds from government for the improvement of the colony: their books and agents were removed; while many of the poor settlers who had toiled for

\* Transferred 1st January, 1808.

† Vide public account, 1808.

them for years were left unpaid. The case of some of these old, impoverished, and destitute people, represented before the chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, in a committee of the African Institution, but no redress was offered: I simply requested that all their demands might be referred to arbitration in the colony; and even this was not complied with.

Having now briefly gone over the plan of the Sierra Leone Company, (of which you were a principal promoter and a chief director) and shewn that no part of it ever had been carried into effect, but that the most injurious consequences to Africa and the settlers followed from the Company's connexion with Sierra Leone; I shall proceed, Sir, to examine the plan, and the benefits that have arisen from the African Institution, of which you are a Vice-President; and this examination may with great propriety be addressed to you, because in conjunction with that little party of select friends with whom you profess to act, you still continue to hold the patronage of Sierra Leone.

As the Company expired, the Institution received life. The select of the Company proclaiming their zeal for Africa, and detestation of the slave trade induced many of the first men for talents, acquirements, and virtue, to unite with them in forming this society, and prevailed on a very amiable Prince

\* Early in 1814,

to preside over it. Thus, when they were supposed to have foundered by mismanagement, they are observed riding triumphantly, newly decorated, newly named, and secured by the most solid anchorage. The colony was surrendered to government; but the trade was secured to their managing secretary; and above all, he was prevailed on to assume the same important stations in the Institution, that he had held so beneficially with the Company!! Under such promising auspices, they commenced anew in 1807, with as much éclat as they had set out in 1791; Nothing of the old form and system was to be resigned; and accordingly their first Report\* was read in July, 1807; from which we learn, "that the Institution, deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa had suffered, and desirous of repairing them, were anxious to adopt such measures as were best calculated to promote their civilization and happiness: that the happiest effects might be anticipated from diffusing useful knowledge, and exciting industry amongst the inhabitants of Africa, equally beneficial to Africa and Great Britain; and that the present period (that is 1807) was eminently fitted for prosecuting those benevolent designs."

The Institution professed, "to diffuse information respecting the productions of Africa, the agricultural and commercial capacities of that conti-

\* Sold at Hatchard's, Piccadilly.

" nent, and the moral, intellectual, and political  
 " condition of its inhabitants. To promote the  
 " instruction of the Africans in letters, and useful  
 " knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connexion  
 " with the natives; to enlighten their minds; to  
 " induce them to substitute a beneficial commerce  
 " in place of the slave trade; to introduce amongst  
 " them the useful arts of Europe; to promote the  
 " cultivation of the African soil, by exciting, and  
 " directing their industry, and by furnishing them  
 " with seeds, plants, and implements of husbandry;  
 " to introduce medical discoveries; to obtain a  
 " knowledge of the principal languages in Africa;  
 " to employ agents, and reward enterprize and  
 " exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the  
 " Institution."

The Report then proceeds with a luminous account  
 of what they mean to do; describes the great field  
 for action before them, and concludes with a panegyric  
 on themselves, whilst bearing the title of  
 the Sierra Leone Company.

The second Report begins with a resolution,  
 " that proper persons shall be employed to teach  
 " the Arabic and Soosoo languages in Sierra Leone;"  
 and in pages 4, 5, 6, it speaks of empowering  
 Mr. Ludlam to erect a school, and annex a farm;  
 so that with reading and writing, they might combine  
 instruction in agriculture, and other useful  
 arts. This would all have been highly beneficial;  
 but no masters, for the purpose of instructing the

rising generation in those languages, were ever heard of at Sierra Leone \* ; nor was there ever any school opened, or persons paid by the African Institution for instructing the children in reading and writing. The British government paid two black boys (who wrote badly and read worse) for teaching the children to read and write ; but as for " instruction in agriculture, and other useful arts," it never was attempted.

I have been informed that Mr. W. Allen, of Plough Court, has procured a competent person on the colonial establishment to be sent out by the last fleet, in order to commence infusing a little knowledge in the year 1815.

What they next mention worth notice, is sending out cotton seed, and machines ; true, they did send out such things, before the settlers had land granted to them ; before land was prepared for the seed, or implements in the colony to prepare the land with ; consequently, the seed was thrown into the river rotten, and the machines suffered to decay †. Their secretary and manager, knew the state of the colony perfectly well before these things were sent ; private advantage seems therefore to have

\* In the second and third Reports it is stated as if carried into effect.

† Many persons present when those articles arrived in the colony can prove the whole of this statement ; and even in London, sufficient evidence could be found to establish this fact.

been the only motive for this profuse expenditure. Much is then said to induce persons to subscribe largely; and the Report concludes, "a chance will be afforded for restoring some of the captured negroes to their connexions; and some, having enjoyed the advantage of instruction in agriculture, and other useful arts in the colony, may possibly be beneficially employed in disseminating in other parts of Africa, the knowledge which they have thus acquired." Is it not most disgraceful, by such publications to delude a liberal nation? those poor creatures never received any instruction; nor was an effort ever made, to restore them to their connexions and country.

In the third Report \* the same old delusion, as practised by the Sierra Leone Company, is kept up. The Report proceeds to state, "that the colony would produce hemp, rope, cotton, silk, sugar, tea, bark, camphire, castor oil, tobacco, &c. &c. &c." I was in the colony years after this report was published, yet never saw any of those valuable productions, nor heard of any attempt being made to cultivate any of them, except in the instance of one little cotton plantation. The colony scarcely produced cassada for the poor settlers; and never exported fifty pounds worth of its own produce that could benefit England, though the establishment has cost her an incredible sum, including colonial expenditure, head money, and compensation.

\* Published in 1809. Compare the Sierra Leone Company's Report of 1794.



In the fourth Report they begin to explain the law to the navy. Speaking of the trade carried on in violation of our own laws, they tell them, "although all slaves found on board are liberated \*; yet there is a bounty allowed by government to the captors; 40*l.* for each man; 30*l.* for each woman; and 10*l.* for each child; instances have occurred in which this has been claimed, and received." Thus, most improperly, they interfere with the law to deceive the navy, and assure them of rewards which the act never sanctioned. I cannot enter more minutely at present, into the continued fallacy that pervades the whole Report.

In the beginning of the fifth Report it is manifest that they do not know even the Portuguese possessions north of the equator; and after a few pages, we are assured, "that between two and three hundred boys enjoyed the benefit of education at Sierra Leone; and that the seeds and plants sent out, were in the most flourishing condition." The fallacy of such representations I exhibited before; but the commission of survey I cannot pass over so quickly. In the plenitude of patronage, two of the company's old servants, Messrs. Ludlam and Dawes, were appointed with captain Columbine commissioners for surveying the west coast of Africa within certain latitudes, having a salary of fifteen hundred a year each. The first was known to have possessed neither practice nor theory for the dis-

\* 47 Geo. 3, c. 36. The report confuses s. 8. with s. 11,

charge of such a duty ; and if the other had a little knowledge of land surveying, yet he was perfectly inadequate to such an undertaking as surveying the coast ; but captain Columbine was first depended on for knowledge and then incapacitated for the undertaking, by being appointed Governor of Sierra Leone. Messrs. Ludlam and Dawes proceeded a little way down the coast ; the former died, and the latter returned to Sierra Leone, where Captain Columbine sat on a hill with a theodolite two or three times, gleaned some assistance from the infatigable Captain Bones ; made out what they called a Report ; and thus to gratify the select with this piece of patronage, England has uselessly paid above ten thousand pounds!!

The Directors conclude this Report by informing the publick, “ that they had furnished the navy with  
 “ such information as might regulate their proceed-  
 “ ings ;” and in their appendix Z, they give an extract from our treaty of friendship and alliance with the Prince Regent of Portugal, and an extract from our treaty of commerce and navigation with the same power, and ignorantly confusing the two, they inform the navy \*, “ that to give any vessel a title  
 “ to the protection of the Portuguese flag in car-  
 “ rying on even their limited trade in slaves, it is  
 “ necessary that she should either be built in the  
 “ dominions of Portugal, or condemned as prize in  
 “ a Portuguese court of admiralty ; and that in

\* See Appendix 2. \*

“ either of these cases she should be owned by a  
 “ Portuguese subject, and that her master and  
 “ three-fourths of her crew should be Portu-  
 “ guese subjects :” besides, they induced the Lords  
 of the Admiralty to send this document as in-  
 structions to the navy ; under which authority the  
 navy were led into error and expense ; and the  
 courts of Vice Admiralty misled in their decisions.  
 So much for their interference with the law.

The seven first pages of the sixth Report display complete ignorance of the west coast of Africa, the state of the slave trade, and the Portugese possessions. I shall enlarge on these points hereafter. The Report proceeds. “ From the information of  
 “ captain Cuffee, as well as from other sources, the  
 “ directors have had the satisfaction to learn, that  
 “ the colony of Sierra Leone is in a visible state  
 “ of improvement ; and that its inhabitants, consist-  
 “ ing almost entirely of Africans or their descend-  
 “ ants, increase in number and respectability. The  
 “ effect of the pains which have been taken in in-  
 “ structing the youth from the moment the colony  
 “ was first formed \*, is manifested by the supe-  
 “ riority of the rising race of colonists in respect  
 “ to intelligence.” I saw Mr. Cuffee in Sierra Leone ; he appeared a man of truth and observation ; and I know he constantly lamented, while in the colony, the dreadful state of depravity into which it was sunk ; from this, and the general fallacious-

\* Sixth report, p. 28.

ness of the Reports, I am led to conclude he never gave such incorrect information.

The Report then declares, "the directors are disappointed not to have had before this time, some more specifick details to produce, with respect to the progress of improvement in Africa, by means of schools\*, and other institutions under the patronage of the society." Is not this a most extraordinary assertion to make, under the countenance of some of the first personages in the empire, when there really never was either school or institution under their patronage in the colony? at the same time confessing they have not even a blanded extract to produce, on the progress of improvement,

The Report goes on, "they are anxious however to proceed on some plan, which may remedy this inconvenience, and give a character of greater permanence to their measures; at the same time they greatly doubt, whether at an early period, and until some progress had been made in suppressing the slave trade on those parts of the coast to which their views had been directed, much more could have been done in the way of civilization, than has been effected."

I call on them to shew any one instance of civilization they have effected, or even attempted: They affect to attribute their want of knowledge

\* Page 29 and 30.

of the improvements they have made to the rapid change of Governors; surely this was their own fault; the first Governor they caused to be sent out, after the surrender of the colony to government, was T. P. Thompson, Esq. (eldest son of the member for Mldhurst); and a more fortunate selection they could not have made, for he is a gentleman of high talents and acquirements; from mind and body incomparably qualified for that station; a true, zealous, and practical abolitionist; possessing great activity, and a hardihood of constitution that indefatigable exertion (even in that climate) could not subdue; a facility at attaining the native languages; courage that nothing could awe, and integrity that nothing could shake: but he was not complying; he could not be induced to be subservient to their views. Instead of lending his assistance to conceal the illegal transactions that had taken place in the colony, he condemned in the court of Vice Admiralty 167 negroes, who had been sold in the colony since the abolition, by the direct interference of the colonial government!! nor would he continue the system of misrepresentation to the Secretary of State, or furnish fallacious documents for the African Institution. Truth and honour were his disqualifications; he was recalled. But they have had a governor for nearly four years, perfectly suited to their wishes; and I wonder they have not published *his* accounts of the progress the Institution has made, in civilizing

\* The record of this is in the High Court of Admiralty, and well worth reading.

Africa, or enlightening the rising generation at Sierra Leone.

The seventh Report commences with the same fallacious representations, " that the Slave trade " was diminishing ;" whereas the Portuguese at that time having learned to confine themselves more to Ajuda, Cabenda, Princes, and Saint Paul's de Loanda, pursued it more vigorously and with more security. The Directors conceive, " that the opinion " they expressed last year, respecting the nature of " the slave trade still existing is correct ; (viz.) that " a large portion of it is real Portuguese trade ; " and a portion still greater is a British Ame- " rican trade, carried on by assuming the Spanish " or Portuguese flag ; and that the real Spanish " trade, if any, is very small indeed \*." Every part of this is incorrect ; the Portuguese trade was infinitely the largest ; the Spanish trade to the Havannah, large also ; the Americans had very little connexion with the trade, except in navigating for the Spaniards ; and the British were still less concerned in any way.

Why the Institution are so fond of implicating the British in this trade, I cannot divine. The ship with British property captured at Goree, under Spanish colours, they assert was a slave trader ; whereas it was proved she had no connexion with that trade : next, a ship captured by the Kangaroo, with two hundred and seventy slaves, they say, had

\* Page 3 of Report.

a cask with papers concealed, which proved her to be the property of a house in Liverpool. This is entirely unfounded.

On the 51st of the King, c. 23, commonly called the Slave Felony Act, (of which they now speak) I must dilate more particularly ; so much mischief has been done, and so much misery has arisen from a wilful misconstruction of this excellent, and perspicuous Act, which states, " that if  
 " any *British subject*, or any person residing in  
 " the united kingdom, or any island, colony, do-  
 " minion, fort, settlement, factory, *belonging*  
 " *thereto, or being in his Majesty's occupation or*  
 " *possession*, shall by him, or themselves, or by  
 " his or their factors, agents, or otherwise, carry  
 " away any slave or slaves, for the purpose of  
 " being transferred, or dealt with as a slave ; or  
 " aid and abet," &c. &c. Under this Act, to my great surprise and annoyance, Samuel Samo, and Charles Hickson were brought before me, as British subjects trading in slaves ; they were seized by Governor Maxwell's order at the Isles de Loss, for selling slaves in the Rio Pongus ; neither of which places were ever considered as belonging to Great Britain, nor did British jurisdiction ever extend over them in any shape. A great body of evidence was brought against these men ; they were both proved to be British subjects ; Samo was found guilty, and Hickson was acquitted. I found, however, so many insurmountable difficulties (for I was bound to protect the legal rights of the pri-

soner), that I informed the Governor, I could not pronounce the sentence directed by the Act on Samo; and to prevent my reasons from being publicly known (lest they might affect the Abolition cause), I advised the Governor to send to the Rio Pongus, induce the chiefs to ask for Samo's pardon, and influence them to promise, that if their petition was granted, they would allow no more slave-trading in their dominions. This was most judiciously executed by the gentleman who undertook the mission; the white men, who had slave factories on that river, also joined in the request. Samo was pardoned; I was extricated from a most unpleasant predicament; and a great effect produced in favour of the Abolition. However, since I left Sierra Leone, H. M. S. *Thais*, went to Messurado, (to which we never claimed any right of territory, and over which we never exercised any jurisdiction,) destroyed the factory and property of Messrs. Bostwick and M'Quin, arrested their persons; and above 240 of the natives, promiscuously seized, were brought to Sierra Leone, and condemned as slaves. Bostwick and M'Quin, were under this Act most illegally tried, convicted, and sentenced to fourteen years transportation; they were afterwards sent to England, and by the mischievous interference of some persons, called benevolent, all examination into their case was prevented, and the unfortunate men have been absolutely sent off to Botany Bay.

H. M. S. *Favourite*, pursuing the same unwar-



rantable system, went into the Rio Pongus, destroyed some factories, seized on a great number of natives, brought them to Sierra Leone, and had them condemned as slaves. Lastly, Governor Maxwell fitted out a complete expedition; sent the colonial Brig and Schooner, and a Transport (then under his command) with a large party of the African Corps; destroyed all the factories they could reach in the Rio Pongus and Rio Noonez, with all the property contained in them; left the white inhabitants absolutely destitute; carried away about 230 natives, whom he caused to be condemned as slaves; then his acting judge tried, and caused to be convicted several white men, under authority of this act, whom the party had seized, or who had voluntarily surrendered themselves; sentenced Hickson, (one of them) to hard labour on the publick works; Brodie, Dunbar, and Cook, to fourteen years transportation; the first a British subject; the next a Spaniard; and the other an American \*.

This conduct will scarcely find a parallel in the history of any civilized nation on earth. We invade with fire and sword the territory of our peaceable, and inoffensive, friendly allies; without any injury being received, complaint made, or notice on our part given, we carry away their subjects, destroy their possessions, and seize those persons, who had lived under their protection from ten to twenty

\* The fate of these unhappy men will be seen by referring to a note in the last page.

years; pillage their Domiciles' property, and, to fill the measure of misery, sentence them (under an Act which could not attach to them) to the most severe and ignominious punishments. I should be happy to witness the indignation of the learned and humane framer of this Act, on reading a full account of these atrocities.

But could any Act of Great Britain have attached to those men, nothing should have excused this violation of every principle of the law of nature and nations. This repeated breach of publick faith; this affixing to the name of Englishman, the epithet of perfidious depredator, under the mask of civilizer and liberator, was the most unpardonable insult ever offered to the honour and feelings of Great Britain; and afterwards to convict two foreigners, seized in foreign territory (Cook and Dunbar), under an Act which attaches only to British subjects, or others in British territory, was the most unprecedented piece of judicial ignorance and cruelty ever recorded. Besides, this conduct must accumulate cruelty on the wretched negro beyond our conception. Every person acquainted with Africa knows, that the slaves in the factories of white men, are infinitely better taken care of, than in the factories of black men; who are less considerate as to the treatment they give, and less provident in the provisions they collect. There is more severity, and often danger of starvation with the black Chiefs, when they are long disappointed of their market; but should the Chiefs be without a

supply of slaves when a ship arrives, they will instantly seize all within their reach ; no friendship, no faith, no relationship, restrains them ; the pawns, the persons committed to their charge, or bequeathed by will, the visiter, the Grumata, the wife, or the child, must go to furnish the cargo.

Even had the Sovereign of the country invited us to a perfidious destruction of the white man's property, common humanity, as well as honesty and justice, should have forbidden our acquiescence. Why then, in addition to every thing treacherous, inflict this gratuitously accumulated calamity, upon those for whom we profess the most liberal feeling, and for whose happiness and civilization it is published to the world, that we are making every political sacrifice, and every national exertion ? can this be done for the purpose of extracting from the Treasury, so much a head for those natives seized, who have been unwarrantably condemned at Sierra Leone as slaves ? Sir, I hope you will feel yourself bound to demand investigation of this conduct, and assist in relieving us from this national disgrace, though your Reports have unbecomingly encouraged it by the most inapplicable applause.

The Report proceeds\* ; " No point which has come under the consideration of the Board during the last year, has more anxiously or constantly engaged its attention, than the amendment of the

\* Seventh Report, p. 21.

“ Acts passed for the Abolition of the slave trade, “ and the better disposal of the slaves, captured “ under the authority of those Acts.” This was wise and just ; felt in 1812, declared in 1813, and slumbered over to 1815. Now I shall give a faithful account of the manner in which the captured negroes were treated during my residence at Sierra Leone, after they were liberated by the court, and supposed free ; perhaps it may animate this dormant suggestion into practical activity. It is at least necessary that his Majesty’s ministers, from whom the reality has been sedulously concealed, should know the truth of those transactions, by which our honour and good faith have been so indelibly stained.

As soon as the captured negroes were landed; and delivered to the care of the Superintendent, a party from the African Corps was sent to examine them ; and as many as they found peculiarly fit to be made soldiers, were marched to the fort, and as it is termed, enlisted ; though the poor negro knew not what was said, or done to him. The remainder were dispatched to what was called an hospital, a wood building, composed of two rooms, with an open communication, where the whole were huddled together in promiscuous intercourse, men, women, and children. The recruiting party for the West Indian regiments were afterwards allowed to select the men and boys that were fit for, or might shortly become fit for military service.

The women and girls were next selected for the basest of purposes\*.

The best of the rising generation were reserved for the plantations and farms of those in authority over them; and lastly, the settlers obtained the refuse as apprentices for fourteen years, to make them hewers of wood, carriers of water, and drudges on their Cassada ground.

Thus we seized our Allies property, because under their Treaty, we declared they had no right to enslave those unfortunate beings; and then, without any Treaty, in violation of our national declaration, and the promulgation of our determination to dispense impartial justice and universal benevolence to the Africans, we disposed of, and dispersed them with arbitrary appropriation; we allowed them to touch the law of England, only to be torn from its protection; to change their masters, not their condition; and fortuitously better or embitter their original destinations! Surely this is a national disgrace that cannot be suffered to continue!

The captured negroes are delivered by the

\* To induce the black soldier to regularity, he was allowed a wife and a ration a day, but the lady he changed as he thought proper; whatever woman he called his wife, got the ration; and when a party was sent to the West Indies, the situation of the women became most deplorable. The conduct of those high in office with respect to the captured negro girls, is now under consideration.

Marshal of the court into the care of the Superintendent, who is answerable for every one of them: let him be obliged to make a return of all the thousands of captured negroes brought to Sierra Leone since the year 1807; how they were disposed of, and where they now are to the best of his knowledge and belief: you may then learn how the benevolent objects of the British nation have been carried into effect, by those placed in their stations at your recommendation; from whom your representations are derived; and who look to you at this moment, for patronage and promotion.

Had the captured negroes, when liberated from their prison ships, been suffered to enjoy the blessings of British protection; had villages been established, the families unsevered allotted farms, supplied with implements of agriculture, and with seeds and plants to cultivate for their support, the beautiful amphitheatre of hills enclosing Sierra Leone, would have become an asylum of happiness for five thousand souls, who looked to us for relief, and to whom we were bound and pledged to extend it. They would have been a bulwark of protection to the colony, furnishing a granary of provisions for the inhabitants, and exhibiting the finest African monument of British philanthropy. Look a few pages back; view the picture of their real treatment, and consider what the world must pronounce on this conduct! I cannot dwell longer

on this Report, but shall take up the eighth and last.

In pages four, five, and six, you applaud the conduct of the Thais and Favourite, in destroying the factories and property of the white men at Mesurado, and in the Rio Pongus; of their seizing Bostwick and M'Quin, and carrying them to Sierra Leone, where they were tried, convicted, and sentenced to fourteen years transportation; and you conclude by informing us, that "the traders retreated into a strong fort, near the head of the river, and bade defiance to Captain Maxwell and his crew. This flagrant outrage upon the laws of England will doubtless engage the immediate attention of his Majesty's government, and the Directors trust, ere long, will meet with the punishment it deserves." Where is the law of England, that has been outraged? the common law is too pure, and the Statute book not confused, and contradictory enough to exhibit a principle or a paragraph that would countenance such depredations. Are not a set of white men, residing for a number of years in a territory to which we have no claim, over which we have no jurisdiction, while they are countenanced and supported by the Sovereign and Chiefs of that country, justifiable in defending themselves and their property from barbarous invaders? or is it to be expected that his Majesty's ministers (because heretofore they have so indulgently listened to your representations) will

interfere and sanction the violation of every principle of the laws of nature and nations, and direct these predatory and lawless invasions of the dominions of our unoffending friends to be repeated? Did not these unenlightened nations formerly look to us for exemplary justice? yet now they behold the most wanton violations of every principle of equity upheld by the civilized world; persons and property placed under foreign protection seized upon and destroyed, without any notice given, or even complaint exhibited! what semblance of excuse can be given for so atrocious a breach of good faith and national honour?

In page seven the importance of the cession of the island of Bissao to Great Britain, is represented; yet if we possessed the island, the slave trade would not be diminished; for that trade from the Cape de Verde islands would be proportionally increased, as soon as Bissao was relinquished by Portugal. It might increase the patronage of the little select party of friends—nothing more! In this Report Lord Castlereagh's \* exposition of the tenth article of the Treaty of alliance and friendship with Portugal is given, which I shall also subjoin; and and I hope, on more mature consideration, his lordship will extend his construction of that article. Satisfied that no one would more quickly seize any suggestion that would tend to diminish this horrible traffick, than Lord Castlereagh, I shall,

\* See Appendix, No. 3.



in a more appropriate place \*, give the construction of that article which has pervaded my decisions, (not yet overruled by higher authority,) and which I hope his Lordship, on mature consideration, will more particularly enforce with the contracting power,

In page 16 it is mentioned, " that the American prisoners were induced to assist in erecting mills in Sierra Leone; and that the Governor had hopes of rendering them useful to the colony." We accuse the Americans of seducing our artificers and seamen; here you sanction our doing the same thing ourselves.

But is it not extraordinary that in all the great zeal proclaimed by the company for Sierra Leone, they never sent a mill for cutting timber, or cleaning rice? Nor in seven years have one hundred pounds been expended from the African Institution fund, for the benefit of that colony after all their professions!! Poor Kizil, the old black settler, who sent his bill for work and labour done long since for the Sierra Leone Company, requested of the worthy Mr. William Allen, to purchase a mill from the money he had so justly earned, and send it out; but neither the chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, nor the Committee of the African Institution, would attend to the poor old man's demand; he was

\* See Appendix, No. 4.

not paid, nor any arbitration allowed; consequently no mill could be purchased.

This frugality about the fund with respect to the colony and Africa in general, and the prodigality exhibited in the next page, obliges me to remark slightly on the expenditure, which I had not originally intended.

Fifty guineas were given to Mr. Macaulay, (lately Secretary, and always Director) for importing into this country above ten tons of white rice from the west coast of Africa. Did this gentleman propose the premium, that he might receive the reward? The proposition was absurd, and the acceptance disgraceful. Mr. Macaulay is the great shopkeeper of the colony; he is the only person that has regular ships in trade from England: the chiefs in the adjacent rivers constantly send rice for the supply of the colony (often beaten clean by their slaves); above ten tons of this was put on board Mr. Macaulay's ship returning to England, and he receives fifty guineas reward! What advantage was this to Africa? And was not the fund intended solely for her benefit?

In the next page, I come to the statement of the funds, and see, "for clothing African boys at school, &c. 14*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*" and "for a piece of plate to Mr. Macaulay, 107*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*"!! Here is parsimony indeed in the natural distribution, and prodigality in an eleemosynary donation. But why

this profuse expenditure on Mr. Macaulay? He has been serving himself in all that he has done for the Sierra Leone Company or the African Institution; he has obtained every thing by his influence over their leaders; nearly a monopoly of the trade; great freights for his ships; the prize agency of almost every man of war, that has gone to the coast since the Abolition; the supply of the navy on the coast with provisions, &c.; the agency for the Governor and garrison seizures\*: in short, the whole control over every thing attached to the colony there, and here, has been with him, not only in the Company's time, but on the surrender of the colony to government; he arranged the offices, and recommended the persons to fill them; he allotted for himself the appointment of King's Agent, and had not a promise made by Lord Grenville, when in office, been executed by the late Duke of Portland, he would have succeeded.

This immediate interference with government from 1807, will more clearly appear from his own letter to Governor Ludlam, which I extract from a pamphlet of the much injured Mr. Grant; it was first published in the African Herald, and may be found in the High Court of Admiralty, as transmitted by Governor Thompson.

\* These accumulated sources of wealth arise evidently from the present state of the Abolition; was an universal Abolition effected, or the slave trade universally permitted, it is obvious they must cease: what follows?

" London, 4th of Nov. 1807. .

" My dear Sir,

" A word in private respecting  
 " the African Institution. I cannot help regarding  
 " it as an *important engine*. We have many  
 " zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence,  
 " who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can  
 " be done, both for the colony and for Africa. Mr.  
 " Perceval and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly.  
 " Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more  
 " immediately lies, is good-humoured and comply-  
 " ing, but his Secretary Mr.

*Caret, in pencil.*

*In the margin in  
 pencil—and Mr.  
 Wilberforce de-  
 sires me to add,  
 disposed from a  
 point of honour  
 to do the utmost  
 for the Aboli-  
 tionists.*

I fear

" Cook is hostile to the whole thing

" may be disposed to

" and [will eagerly] seize any cir-  
 " cumstance which will put it in  
 " his power to do us mischief.

*Interlineations  
 in the original.*

*Words [will ea-  
 gerly] defaced.*

*Words in ital-  
 ics underscored in  
 the original.*

" You will see how very im-  
 " portant it is to be aware of this  
 " in your communications with go-  
 " vernment. Indeed, in all the  
 " *ostensible* letters you write, whe-  
 " ther to Lord Castlereagh, the  
 " African Institution, or myself, it  
 " will be right to consider the  
 " *effect* of what you say on like-  
 " warm friends, and in the hands

with  
 " of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix us.

A  
 " In such hands there are truths which will be made  
 " to produce all the effect of falsehood, and instead  
 " of being used as they ought to be, as a spur, will  
 " be employed as checks to all exertion. I cannot  
 " mean, of course, that you should, in any degree,  
 " varnish your representations. I merely mean  
 " that you should not *unnecessarily* discourage the  
 " exertions of benevolence. People who do not  
 " know you, will suppose the case to be desperate  
 " where you seem to doubt; and your testimony, if  
 " convertible to an adverse purpose, would be for-  
 " midable. Your own mind will suggest to you  
 " the guards, limitations, and exceptions, with  
 " which what I now say should be received.

" I have NO DOUBT that government will be dis-  
 " posed to adopt almost any plan  
 " which we may propose to them  
 " with respect to Africa, *provided*  
 " *we will but save them the trou-*  
 " *ble of thinking.* This you will  
 " see to be highly important."

*Words in small  
 capitals under-  
 scored with a dou-  
 ble line in the  
 original.*

So far appears to be in the hand-writing of an amanuensis; the remainder in the same hand with the signature.

" I have one remark to make which you will  
 " see to apply to much of what I have written to  
 " you by this conveyance. I am not writing for

" myself, but for others ; and am therefore obliged  
 " to propose topics of consideration to you, which,  
 " but for this circumstance, I myself might have  
 " deemed superfluous, and might have saved you  
 " the trouble of answering. But if I had time, I  
 " could give you several reasons why the same  
 " truths will do more good coming from you than  
 " from me.

" I ever am, my dear sir,

" Your's very truly,

" Zachary Macaulay."

Thus, this gentleman, who has provided for him-  
 self, his relations, and friends ; who through this  
 influence has insinuated himself at every public  
 department, is rewarded for his activity, in advanc-  
 ing his own trade, from this African poor-box, (for  
 such I may term the funds of the Institution) which  
 I was led to consider as a deposit exclusively in-  
 tended, " to heal the wounds we had inflicted on  
 " the sons of Africa ; to civilize and enlighten her  
 " benighted inhabitants:" yet I do not find since  
 the Institution was established, and an immense sum  
 of money subscribed, that as many pounds have  
 been appropriated to any purpose beneficial to  
 Africa, as in this year appear to have been given  
 to this Director.

I shall now more particularly examine how  
 many of the wonderful professions of the Institu-  
 tion, have been carried into effect ; as I have done  
 before as to the advantages derived from the Sierra

Leone Company, after their unbounded promises of wealth to England, and blessings to Africa.

The Reports commence with declaring, "that the Institution will diffuse information respecting the productions of Africa, and the agricultural and commercial capacities of that continent\*." Permit me to ask, where this information is to be found? For after seven years promise made by such men, with such means, surely it should be in existence: or is it possible that it can be still in the womb of time? Has the mountain been so long in labour, and not even produced a mouse?

Next, they were "to diffuse information respecting the moral, intellectual, and political condition of the inhabitants of Africa." Have they advanced a step into the interior? Have they ever attempted any research into the "moral, intellectual, and political condition of the Africans?" Is it not all "the baseless fabrick of a vision?"

Again, they are "to promote the instruction of the Africans, in letters and useful knowledge;" they stated, "that they were opening schools for teaching the Arabick and Soosoo languages; endowing schools for reading and writing English;" but those fine schemes never were put into execution: not one attempt made by them, to instruct the poor African in letters, or to afford him any other kind of useful knowledge, that I could ever discover.

\* Vide first Report.

Then they proceed to declare their determination "to cultivate a friendly connexion with the natives, "to enlighten their minds, &c." I humbly ask, is it by barbarously invading their territory at Messurado, the Isles de Loss, the Rio Pongus, and the Rio Noonez; by destroying all property and persons under their protection, and forcibly carrying off about seven hundred natives, without any offence being given, or complained of? Is this the way to cultivate their friendship, and enlighten their minds?

The Institution professed "to induce them to "substitute a beneficial commerce, in place of the "slave trade, and to introduce amongst them, the "useful arts of Europe." Now in seven years, they never have done any of these things, nor even made any attempt to substitute a beneficial commerce in place of the slave trade, or to introduce the useful arts of Europe; but they proceed to assure the public, that they are "to promote the "cultivation of the African soil, by exciting and "directing their industry, by furnishing them with "seeds, plants, and implements of husbandry." When the famous cargo of seed came out, which was thrown into the river, the natives, that came to Sierra Leone, were offered some; but it was as useless to them as to the settlers; for they had no implements of husbandry, nor any sort of instrument to prepare the ground for the seed. This was the extent achieved, of those boasted exertions.



Lastly, they were "to promote medical discoveries; to obtain a knowledge of the principal African languages; to employ agents, and reward enterprize and exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution." Now have they ever attempted to promote medical discoveries? Have they ever attempted to obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa? Have they ever employed agents to reward enterprize and exertion? Surely you must know that they never have made any effort of the sort, or done any one act, which they proposed for the benefit of Africa. In fact, they seem to acknowledge it, in the 17th page of the last Report, for they say, "a numerous Committee was appointed to obtain information, on the state of the black settlers, to excite their industry, and improve their moral habits; and farther to attend to those objects, which are particularly specified at page 4 of the first Report:" these are the very objects I have now stated, though they would not repeat them. Thus in 1814, they speak of reporting on those benefits, which they had promised to confer on Africa in 1807.

Was such a system of delusion ever practised, even in this nation? To conceive the Sierra Leone Company pursuing this scheme for sixteen years, and then the same Directors and managing Secretary, coming forth under a new name, and persevering in the same course for seven years more, under the apparent sanction of the first characters

this pre-eminent nation can boast of, is almost beyond all possible credibility; and be assured, I often pause, as I write, to consider if fame, wealth, and power, can overawe the investigation of truth; but as I reflect on the English character, I am encouraged to proceed; and when the veil is rent, my duty is discharged.

I have now sir, to implore that your little party of friends, may cease to interfere with this unfortunate colony; for after four and twenty years effort, to observe the settlers in more poverty, and greater wretchedness, than when they were taken under their care; to see them in age and infirmity without a refuge; to witness the rising generation more immoral and dissolute, than the inhabitants of any other part of Africa; and to know that the very persons assigned by Act of Parliament to his Majesty's protection, are plunged into licentiousness, and consigned to arbitrary control, is surely sufficient to force any person attached to truth and humanity, (much more to authorize a person in my station) to entreat that they may rest contented with the patronage they have enjoyed; the possession of which was well secured, and well arranged, before the transfer of the colony to government, as must evidently appear from Mr. Macaulay's letter, already given, dated the 4th of Nov. 1807: and that an immense addition was intended to have been claimed even before this, will be established by the following letters, published in the African Herald, and transmitted to the High Court of

Admiralty by Governor Thompson. Mr. H. Thornton, Chairman of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, writes to the governor of Sierra Leone, (dated "London, 7th Feb. 1807,") thus—

" I feel a strong desire to see some measures  
 " instituted, which may contribute to place in the  
 " hands of zealous and proper persons, the general  
 " direction of British concerns in Africa." In support of this, comes a letter from the confidential secretary Mr. Macaulay, to the same Governor Ludlam, dated "London, Feb 26, 1807."

(Extract.)

" What has suggested itself to me as desirable  
 " to be done, I will now state in a few words.  
 " 1st. To appoint a board which shall confine  
 " its attention entirely to Africa, and which shall  
 " comprise a few of those individuals, as Mr.  
 " Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c. &c. who have  
 " interested themselves about Africa. 2ndly. To  
 " place under the management of this board, not  
 " only Sierra Leone, but Goree, and all the forts  
 " on the Gold Coast. 3dly. To station at different  
 " parts of the continent; from the river Gambia to  
 " Angola, intelligent persons under the name of  
 " Consuls, or any other name that may be preferred,  
 " (perhaps about a dozen) with adequate appointments, whose business it shall be to procure  
 " accurate information respecting the neighbouring  
 " and interior countries; and to embrace every

"favourable opportunity of improving the British  
 " interest in Africa, &c. &c. &c."

Thus the possessions of the African Company on the Gold Coast, (which produce so much wealth to England) were to be wrested from them, and the influence of this party was to extend from the Gambia to Angola; such an immensity of space for the patronage of man to reach, no one before had the boldness to claim; and I hope no one will ever have the power to obtain; but who so stultified as not at once to perceive the ambition and rapacious avarice that must have generated such a project?

That this plan was long in agitation, no one can now doubt; whether proposed to his Majesty's ministers or not, is beyond my power to develop: however, these letters were obviously written to be echoed by Governor Ludlam; for Mr. Macaulay, in his letter of the 4th Nov. 1807, says, "the same  
 " truths will do more good coming from you than  
 " from me." Your secretary, writing under your direction, (as appears from the letter given before) says, "I have no doubt that Government will be  
 " disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may  
 " propose to them with respect to Africa, *provided*  
 " *we will but save them the trouble of thinking.*" I have now only to hope, as your party have most kindly given them this great assistance for eight years, that they will now allow them to think for themselves; then I make no doubt the Lords of the Treasury, the Lords of the Admiralty, and the Co-

lonial Secretary, will quickly place the Colony on the broad basis of equal and permanent justice.— The little mercantile interest of an individual will be no longer the motive for every action, every appointment, and every regulation; the settlers will become happy; and true piety, pure religion, and sound morality, will be infused: cultivation will be encouraged, civilization extended, and the Colony, though perhaps expensive, will not remain vicious, injurious, and disgraceful to England.

But, Sir, you have still great means of doing good, of advancing the Colony you have founded, and the inhabitants you have caused to be placed there, without interfering with the patronage. You have rich friends, and large funds, and means of procuring bountiful assistance. Present the industrious settler with implements of husbandry, and instruments for artificers; erect the first church with a steeple and bell, that ever was built for our regular service, in Africa; it will be a monument of honour to yourself, and an incitement to public worship. The Secretary of State, I am convinced, will no longer suffer the Colony to be without a regular Church of England Clergyman, and the sanctuary will no longer be profaned.

Establish an Asylum (though you have refused to assist me in that undertaking) for the destitute, the aged, the idiot, and lunatic: it will be the greatest charity you ever promoted, and it is the bounden duty of your party to do so; for they induced, the

settlers to come from places, where some relief would have been administered; those poor creatures have spent their youth in your service, and are now in age, and poverty, deserted and oppressed.

Prevail on your friends also to found two schools apart from each other, one for boys, another for girls; thus they will disseminate knowledge, industry, good morals, and prevent an early and promiscuous prostitution. These will be actions worthy of a saint in heaven; and may likely blot out for ever, many of our sins on earth. Consider what the Institution promulgated to the world; reflect on what you write to Prince Talleyrand, "that Sierra Leone was settled with a view to promote the arts, and the blessings of civilized life, amongst the natives of Africa." Let not your own Colony be called in evidence against you, to prove, that neither have the arts been cultivated in, nor the blessings of civilized life extended to Africa.

I rejoice extremely to learn, from the same Report, that you have formed a determination to bring in a Bill to meliorate the condition of the blacks, and people of colour, in the West Indies; and I sincerely hope you will speedily effect something beneficial from this laudable undertaking.

The idea of a British subject being born a slave in British territory, is repugnant to British feeling. To anticipate the slavery of our offspring before it is engendered, is horrible to human nature; nor

can the issue of illicit love be so consigned; the law does not vest the fortuitous parent with such authority. Let the first clause establish, that every person born within British jurisdiction must be free; it will be not only justice, but policy; for entailed slavery contracts propagation\*.

The next state that harrows up the very soul, is interminable slavery. Convince the slave he has no refuge from misery in this world, and you induce him to precipitate himself into the presenee of the Omnipotent; by which he expects to regain his country, his family, his happiness, and freedom: therefore when you establish the proposed register for slaves in every island, I hope the value of each slave will be affixed to his name; and the right of emancipation, by a full payment, (giving an equitable notice,) should be the next enactment: by his own indefatigable labour, by a humane friend, or zealous relative, he may then have a chance of becoming free: the very hope will stimulate exertion, incite him to good conduct, and animate every faculty; it will show benevolence to the slave, and prove lucrative to the master,

From the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Swedish, Dutch, and Danish Code, for managing their slaves, you may extract many valuable regulations; and I hope on coming within the pale of our Church, our slaves will be rewarded equally with those, who, in

\* Vide 8th Report, p. 11, 12.

Roman Catholic countries, come under the rules of that Church. Remember, a Mahometan will not suffer a follower of the Prophet to be sold as a slave; allow not the believers in Christ to be treated with less lenity.

I make no doubt, the most liberal and humane ordinances will be selected from the whole; and many wise, appropriate, and benevolent new ones, will be added. It is a great and beneficent undertaking, fit for the admirable, wise, and actively excellent men, that are members of the African Institution: but the old managers should have a little rest; such as have laboured long in the Sierra Leone Company, and their select friends and relations that have toiled with them ever since; they are nearly worn out in the service; and, without any detriment to the cause, might be excused. New Directors will be more active, and will study to emulate those who have done so much good already! Be assured, a change will be for the better.

I have now, Sir, arrived at the time for addressing you as the Father of the Abolition. I presume, by accepting the appellation, you hold yourself thereto entitled; yet, "'tis passing strange;" for Mr. Clarkson, (whose active humanity, and indefatigable industry, in the cause of abolition, can never be sufficiently appreciated or applauded,) was certainly engaged in this great cause near twenty years before he enlisted you under his banners. The invaluable and ever to be regretted Mr. Granville



Sharpe, was nearly fifteen years in the cause of injured Africa, before you joined his amiable band of philanthropists. . Many other worthy personages, whom Mr. Clarkson's History records, were engaged with him near ten years before your accession; yet you are now held up to this enlightened age, and would be handed down to posterity, as the parent that generated the abolition of slavery, emancipated, enlightened, cultivated, and civilized Africa ! Be it as it may : I have examined already the means adopted to effect some of those praise-worthy objects, and how far they have succeeded ; now I shall proceed to show, how little your theory extended to pure abolition, and that, practically, you have not been in the slightest degree successful. .

That you most laudably assisted Sir William Dobbin, and others, in procuring Bills to be passed for meliorating the condition of slaves in their Transatlantic passage, I delight in acknowledging ; but when I behold you for near twenty years professedly struggling with the great and all-commanding minister of this country ; whose public measures you supported, whose administration of this government you admired, and to whose private friendship you were devoted ; it is wonderful this benevolent measure was not carried. You knew Mr. Pitt was all powerful with his party, and the sole director of his administration : you had a commanding, connected phalanx of friends in Parliament ; and, on this occasion, you had the people's support, and the finest feelings of the nation to gratify : yet for twenty years

you did not carry this Bill; though you apparently acted with such a commanding associate. It is evident you never did make it a "sine qua non" of the continuance of your support of Mr. Pitt's Administration: the speaking on it, for it, and about it, was "*ad captandum vulgus*;" it served to uphold the pendulum in its vacillancy between the minister and the people.

But what is still more wonderful, a new Administration was formed, to the members of which you were not the devoted friend; of whose measures you were not an unshaken admirer; who were not in themselves all commanding in Parliament; yet by those very men, without hesitation, or delay, this Bill was carried in both Lords and Commons. Did you ever tell Mr. Fox, or Lords Grey and Grenville; that the justice, policy, and humanity of the abolition were so impressed on your conviction, that you could not conscientiously support any ministers; that would not assist you in carrying it into effect? The whole tenour of your language on the subject would have prompted and justified this demand; but you did no such thing; the integrity, the humanity, and the consistency of those distinguished Statesmen, induced them to give their whole, unbribed, and voluntary assistance, in accomplishing this great work. The Bill was evidently carried by their exertions; and cannot be attributed either to your perseverance or benevolence.

Allow me to look at the Abolition Act minutely,

which I hope will not appear to be an offspring of your's, though the features rather proclaim the parent; for you avow it is not slavery, but the Slave Trade, you dislike. In your Letter to Prince Talleyrand, you say, "The abolitionists took all opportunities of proclaiming, that it was the Slave Trade, not slavery, against which they were directing their efforts." The Abolition Act upholds the same principle; but it did not express the true uncontaminated principle, nor the fine feeling of this magnanimous country.

By the seventh Section of the Act, "slaves taken as prizes or forfeitures, may be enlisted for the land or sea-service; or may be bound as apprentices, whether of full age or not, for a term of fourteen years;" and by Section 16th and 17th, it is laid down, "that when the term of apprenticeship has expired, they may be apprenticed anew; and the service of a negro soldier is directed to be for life;" so that here is involuntary servitude for life, established by an Act of Parliament, purporting to abolish slavery. The soldier may endure some sea sickness in crossing the Atlantic, I suppose, because he receives some compensation; but here is a permanent, sedentary slavery for life, under the name of apprenticeship, without any compensation, established by this liberating Act of our Legislature; and the seat of this new slavery is in Freetown, in the colony founded by the most benevolent men, on the most liberal plan: exalted as the freest spot on earth, to enlighten benighted Africa; and

displayed to the world as the finest example of British liberty, and British philanthropy !!!

But with sorrow I must declare, this substitute for the slave trade, appears evidently to have been a premeditated plan, well laid before the Act passed, from the interesting letter which your worthy Secretary, Mr. Macaulay, wrote to Governor Ludlam, dated London, 7th of May, 1807\*.

EXTRACT.

“ You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this country on the subject of African slavery. While the slave trade lasted, I certainly felt very averse to giving any direct encouragement to the purchasing of slaves, with a view to the benefit of their labour for a certain given period ; but I always looked forward to the event of the Abolition, as removing many objections to that system.”

Thus the abolition Act is to give us slaves without purchase, by seizing them from our allies ; and then the framers of this magical act (which is to free and enslave at the same moment), acknowledge, that they look forward to its removing many objections to our purchasing Africans, for the same avowed and specific purpose ourselves ! As I view

\* To be found with the others, as before directed.

and consider this whole plan, the Act, the promoters, and the manner in which it has been enforced, I am scarcely able to suppress the language that would express my sensations ; however, I must repeat what he says : “ You somewhat misconceive “ our ideas in this country, on the subject of “ African slavery.” That is, we are the most abominable hypocrites on earth ; proclaiming to the world, that from the finest feelings of justice and humanity, we are abolishing the slave trade ; yet, in the most surreptitious manner, we are determined to pursue it vigorously, and raise all tropical produce \* by slaves, not in the West Indies, but in Africa.]

The West Indian planters and merchants suffered, and complained long since ; but when they perceive the authors of their calamity planning to obtain plantations without purchase, labourers without expense, territory from the Gambia to Angola, and a monopoly of the exports and imports, I fear they will consider this an attempt at their inevitable ruin. The army having taken near three thousand of the finest slaves, may have retarded the benefit of this plan ; but though slow, it will be sure. A peace will leave the captured negroes without diminution, or competition. The Brazil and Havannah produce will throw the West Indian planters out of the foreign market ; and here will be an effort to undersell them in the home

\* Pans for boiling sugar were long since sent to Sierra Leone.

market. But this is too large a field for me; I shall only remark, that Prince Talleyrand, many years past, explained the advantages that would arise to France, by cultivating colonial produce in Africa; though he did not recommend the confiscation of property, that by a fiction might be turned to the very use which caused it to be confiscated.

Sir, I lament being obliged to speak of myself; but our relative situations with respect to the slave trade and Sierra Leone, being the cause of this public address to you, it is necessary to shew what we have both done, what benefit has arisen, and then to point out the best mode my humble efforts can devise, for insuring a secure, perfect, and universal Abolition, by which Africa may be raised from its degraded and besotted state, to its natural elevation in the civilized world.

It is evident that the objects you had in founding the colony of Sierra Leone, have completely failed. The dissipation of your funds proved the injudiciousness of your trade; cultivation and civilization were not attempted. The native Chiefs \* considered your servants as faithless and perfidious, your colony was a wilderness, your settlers poor and dissatisfied, and the slave trade nurtured, until Mr. Thompson arrived as governor †.

\* Four most extraordinary letters in Arabic from those chiefs to our universally beloved Sovereign, establishing this, and designating the persons, are now in London, and translated.

† The true state of Sierra Leone, in 1808, will be clearly

The Abolition Act has transferred the slave trade from England to Portugal and Spain ; it has thrown our colonies back, and advanced the Brazils and Havannah more in six years, than thirty had done before. Do not let it be supposed, that I would have had the sin and degradation of the slave trade continue to be attached to England : when justice immolates wealth on the altar of humanity, it is an offering grateful to her benevolent spirit ; but this Act has scarcely diminished the number of slaves carried from the coast ; the Portugal and Spanish trade has so wonderfully increased, that the difference is insignificant since ours was abolished, and what is worse, it has augmented the negroes' sufferings in the trans-Atlantic passage : the Brazil ships are not only filled most unmercifully, but the Spaniards (in general) from the Havannah, fearful of our cruisers †, come without irons, and therefore, for security, stow those unoffending Beings into the hold, like lumps of East wood ; never opening the hatchways more than once a day, to convey food in, and drag the dead out. It is thus literally a fact, that securing them with irons, was mercy compared to committing them to

seen from documents sent to the High Court of Admiralty by Governor Thompson ; from his correspondence with Lord Castlereagh (then Secretary of State for the Colonies) ; from the Protest of the Governor and Council against the Abolition Act ; and the system of apprenticeship, transmitted for the Privy Council ; and lastly, from Governor Thompson's memorial to the Treasury in 1812.

† Appendix, No. 5.

suffocation, by confinement in the hold of their vessels; from whence they cannot emerge to fresh air, until they arrive at their final destination.

I do not conceive we are even redeemed from the sin of this trade. Africa, and the Abolition cause, cannot derive any advantage by our not carrying the slaves to the West Indies, to make soldiers of them there, if we make soldiers of them in Africa, and then transport them to the West Indies; nor can our buying slaves in Africa, and selling them in the West Indies; or seizing them in Africa, and employing them there, under the name of apprentices, on the same labour for life without pay or reward, benefit Africa, or promote Abolition. Certainly fewer negroes may be enslaved by us in this way than formerly; but I think if a person purchases a slave, and does not expect a constant supply, he will be more likely to treat his slave leniently, than the person who obtained him for nothing, and may expect a supply on the same terms. The number might be diminished, but the cruelty will be increased.

Thus, the real Abolition of slavery seems to have been as little served, and the true object of annihilating the slave trade as little promoted, as the promises of the Company or Institution for remunerating, cultivating, and civilizing Africa, have been carried into effect. Yet I do not mean to attribute all this to you. I do not mean to exhibit this as



your original intention. No; "they have entwined about the easy hearted man, to hug him into snares."

Uninstructed by those in authority, unaided by the learned, and removed from the power of research, I put in force the law of every nation, where it restrained the subject from the practice of this diabolical traffic; because I was convinced no nation would attempt to induce England to encourage, what her own laws had forbidden.

Where the law of nations could assist this great cause of justice and humanity, I called it to my support, and to the Treaty of Portugal I gave the most liberal construction\*; satisfied that the Prince Regent of Portugal, from his wise determination, benevolence, and love of justice, would not claim more dominion than he actually possessed, for the purpose of increasing a trade he had considered a disadvantage. Therefore, when he declared his resolution to confine his subjects to the dominions he actually possessed, and gradually to abolish the trade, the highest compliment I could pay him, was to support those beneficent declarations which he had bound himself to Great Britain to enforce. I did accordingly restrain his undutiful subjects; and whenever I found they had obtained slaves from any place not actually in the dominions of Portugal, I relieved them of their illegitimate cargo. By these

\* Vide Appendix, No. 4, given at length.

means, I was providentially the cause of liberating about two thousand five hundred innocent Africans, and delighted in the prospect of practically benefiting the Abolition of slavery; but my joy was quickly turned to commiseration. The human beings passed free from the judicial authority, only to be subjugated anew! Thus by the Act of Abolition is the slave trade restricted, but the slavery unrestrained; and by means of that Bill, supposed to be your own formation, I may be said to have benefited the cause, as little as yourself,

Now, Sir, after twenty-seven years of injudicious exertion in the cause of Abolition, allow me to entreat of you to relinquish all farther interference, Suffer it to rest with the noble Lord, into whose care the executive authority of this empire has intrusted its completion.

Your Secretary, in his letter to Governor Ludlam (already given), dated London, 4th Nov. 1807, says, "Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more immediately lies, is good humoured and complying;" and Mr. Wilberforce desires me to add, "disposed from a point of honour to do the utmost for the Abolitionists."

Surely there never was any person more disrespectfully and unfairly treated by those defective Abolitionists, than this Nobleman; who, in 1806, declared "his rooted abhorrence of the slave trade;" who, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has made

perpetual exertions with the Court of Brazil, and has induced many European Powers to join this glorious confederacy against African slavery.

As to France, His Most Christian Majesty has declared by Treaty\*, "that he agrees with his Britannic Majesty as to the principle of the slave trade being repugnant to natural justice; that his subjects shall not carry it on above five years; that the slave merchant shall not import or sell, but in the colony of the nation of which he is a subject; and lastly, that he will join his efforts to induce every Power in Christendom to decree such an Abolition, as will oblige it universally to cease in five years."

What could be expected more from that great and independent nation? In return for conquests restored on the Continent, she was to receive from Great Britain, some of her colonies in Africa, and in the West Indies; we were bound to deliver them unconditionally. She could not form an exact notion how these colonies were circumstanced; and therefore to place her on an equality with Portugal and Spain (whom we have permitted, and do permit, to carry on the trade), she asks five years for her own subjects to trade to her own colonies, during which time she will make every exertion to have it universally abolished.

\* Vide Treaty with France, 1814.

Could the King of France, in justice to his subjects, have done more? In the unsteady situation he was then placed, ought we to have asked more? And if he had precipitated himself into a declaration for immediate Abolition, against the wishes of his subjects, what great benefit would have followed? The universal consent of the civilized nations of the world would not have been instantly obtained, as the late decision of Congress has demonstrated. Portugal and Spain would have continued and increased their trade in proportion, and rendered the philanthropy of France, as abortive as they have rendered the Abolition Act of Great Britain; they would have supplied the French colonies, adding cruelty to captivity; and from being pertinaciously atrocious, would have defeated every humane exertion.

Certainly, unbounded applause would have attached to the negociator, if the Abolition of the slave trade had been included in the Treaty; and Lord Castlereagh must be alive to national applause; therefore Fame alone would have been a sufficient incentive to his utmost exertion in the cause: but every dispassionate person will allow, that his Lordship could not, though he would, have obtained more from France; he ought not, if he could, have shaken the seat, on which we had just placed the Monarch; for it would not firmly and permanently have established universal Abolition, though it might have renewed the calamities of Europe, without ending the miseries of Africa.

Had his Lordship been decried; had the approbation he received for the treaty been diminished by his fair opponents, it might have been natural; but to be blown upon by those who are the constant supporters of every Administration, at the moment he was labouring for their own measures, was as little consistent in them, as injurious to his Lordship.

But this is not all; every thing deserving praise is to be attributed to others: Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to acquire information concerning the windward coast. A very intelligent merchant in the city supplied the materials. His Lordship communicated with the Duke of Wellington, and obtained from the French Monarch a grand concession, "that his Majesty's subjects should not trade for slaves, North of Cape Formosa." Immediately an extract of a letter appears in our newspapers, (as from Mr. Wilberforce to a friend), stating, that he (Mr. W.) had received a letter from the Duke of Wellington, informing him, that his Grace had obtained this desirable relinquishment of the coast; as if Mr. Wilberforce and the gallant Duke had achieved all this without the concurrence, advice, or assistance of Lord Castlereagh. I write from the Paper, and the effect it carried in my apprehension at the moment. I am no eulogist "as Brutus is;" but will state the truth, though it may appear panegyric; for when truth is panegyric, it ought not to be withheld. The able Statesman, into whose hands this great cause is intrusted, has done well; very well. Let not those, who *pretend* to be Abolitionists, retard his efforts by

detraction. I hope all true Abolitionists will encourage, by doing justice ; will incite, by acknowledgment ; and stimulate, by praise. His Lordship will then (for it is human nature) be still more zealously indefatigable in this glorious Cause.

When the French Monarch finds Saint Domingo invincible, the necessity for a great supply of slaves will cease ; and he will be more inclined to gratify his benevolent wishes, and perhaps yield some portion of the stipulated period. Lord Castlereagh and the renowned Duke will watch every favourable moment for such a happy occurrence, and secure every practicable advantage.

We have had a fair exposition of the Treaty with Portugal ; but I have no doubt Lord Castlereagh will consider it more profoundly, and enforce the liberal intentions of the Prince Regent of Portugal most strictly. When the Prince removes from the Brazils (though at present he appears to have deferred it), his good wishes may with safety be carried fully into effect ; and I am satisfied Lord Castlereagh, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, will, on the part of Great Britain (with the aid of France), insist, that the gradual Abolition, which Portugal pledged herself to commence in February, 1810, should be completed in 1819 ; and an Abolition of the slave trade commanded by that nation.

Spain becomes now the only nation to humanize. She has few colonies to supply, and no dominions in

Africa to bring slaves from ; therefore she has less cause to complain of restriction, than even Portugal ; yet she has never been restrained by Treaty, nor even by the hazard of an expression of feeling in favour of Africa. But the Royal License, permitting the subjects of Spain to carry on the slave trade, will expire in the year 1816 ; and a renewal of that License, I hope Lord Castlereagh, by direction of the Prince Regent of England, will make every possible exertion to prevent. We have upheld Spain as a nation, because we supposed her struggling for freedom ; yet, at that very time, Spain was depressing Africa, by dragging additional thousands of her sons into slavery.

The Royal License is never renewed, but under a representation from the colonies that a fresh supply of negroes is required. Cuba is the only place of consequence, and I conceive she has been amply stocked, except her new farms ; and if the trade never was to end until every spot of new ground was cultivated, it must continue to eternity. Therefore the first point is now, to conciliate the principal persons at the Havannah. Some " bona fide" Spanish property has, I fear, been condemned, and the Spaniards in general at the Havannah are much incensed. They have continually opposed our efforts with the Cortes, with the Monarchs in Spain, and lately they sent even to the Congress at Vienna, to prevent any interference in favour of the Abolition. I by no means however despair of their good offices yet in this

great cause. Let us, (by amicable settlement,) restore the full amount of what they are justly entitled to; we may then more peremptorily request justice for Africa; and I think a renewal of the Royal License never will be demanded, if the Havannah merchants are satisfied: on them it solely depends, and by them we may peaceably obtain an Abolition on the part of Spain. Our justice will produce their liberality. I do not speak on surmise, it is worth the trial; for though Spain may for a little hug the chains of despotism and superstition, she will cease to forge fetters for Africa.

But that part of the Treaty with France which should have received unbounded praise, is passed over. The great point to obtain, is to have this traffick in human beings universally declared to be a violation of the law of nature and nations. The determination of France to aid and assist in this, the noble Lord has obtained; and for so doing he has deserved great praise: and this appears the decided opinion of the African Institution, for in page ten of the eighth Report we are informed, "the Directors have long been persuaded that all that can be effected in inducing particular States to renounce the traffick in slaves, however important in itself, will produce but a very partial benefit to Africa, unless, on the conclusion of a general peace, *that renunciation should become general, and be adopted as a part of the standing policy of the great commonwealth of Europe.*"



Nothing can be more true than this; and any person will naturally ask, why you, and your friends, who have always wished to have the management of every thing connected with Abolition, did not unremittingly labour to have the slave trade pronounced a violation of the law of nature and nations by the European Powers assembled in Congress? To obtain such a declaration from those wise and enlightened Sovereigns, could not have been difficult; yet I never heard that any attempt had been made to call forth such a declaration with any probability of success, because no solid foundation was laid for such a demand, by proving the trade to be repugnant to the principles of the law of nature. Suppose you had prevailed on that unparalleled Civilian, Sir William Scott, to lay his great mind to the subject? suppose you had induced such an incomparable lawyer as Sir William Grant, to have given his assistance in drawing up a remonstrance against the slave trade; proving this incitement to war, this destruction of all domestic comforts, this severing of every social tie, and this barter of humanity for a roll of tobacco, to be contrary to the law of nature and nations? and that you had caused such a diplomatic document to have been distributed and enforced at this all-powerful Congress; must not the effect have been such as the most devoted abolitionist could have desired?

About sixty years since, four of our great men replied to a Prussian Manifesto against the right of search; it was termed the "unanswerable answer,"

and carried conviction throughout the world; yet *that* was founded on political justice; this argument on Divine truth; for the law of nations is built on the unerring rules of justice, which unchangeably direct every law, human or Divine, for individual man, or collective empire; it is founded on the law of nature, directed by the law of God. Our Saviour says, "We should do unto others, as we would they should do unto us." Puffendorf defines the law of nature, "to be the great rule prescribed by our Saviour, of doing to men, as we would be done by." Hobbs proves it thus; "The rule to try the law of nature by is this; whenever you are going to commit any act against any person, suppose yourself in the place of that person, and act by him as in similar circumstances you would wish him to act by you." If slave traders would follow this rule, the trade would perish by an act of suicide!

Cicero, in his beautiful fragment, considers the law of nature and nations the same. Grotius defines the "*Lex Naturæ* to be just consequences, drawn from natural principles;" and the "*Jus Gentium* to be the universal consent of nations to those principles."

Vattel defines the law of nations "to be a just and rational application of the law of nature to the affairs and conduct of nations."

It is indisputably allowed, that the slave trade is

a violation of justice, humanity, and the first principles of universal jurisprudence; thus it cannot be supported by that law which is built on natural justice, and founded on Divine precept; would not this subject, enforced by the powerful arguments of such pre-eminent men as I have mentioned, have been irresistible? they would have illumined, they would have convinced, and like the divine rod of Aaron, have dispersed the serpents of the magicians. Why was not such a remonstrance obtained and dispersed?

I think it might have been effected with as much ease\*, at as little expence, and perhaps might have rendered as much service to the cause, as Mr. Wilberforce's letter to Prince Talleyrand. Yet it will be reiterated, that this all-instructive epistle is the Talisman "to appal the guilty, set free the free," and insure universal Abolition.

I shudder at the state we are now plunged in. This question, I learn, has been dismissed from the Congress, without an argument being offered in its favour. Spain and Portugal resisted the interference of those mighty Sovereigns with this subject, because "they did not interfere with the territorial divisions in Europe." (I write from general report.) Surely this was not a sufficient reason to induce those powerful Potentates to re-

\* Eighth Report Account, "paid for a large number of Mr. Wilberforce's Letter on the slave trade, 83l. 4s. 6d."

Inquish their duty? for Vattel lays it down,  
 (Prelim. 13,) "That the object of the great so-  
 ciety, established by nature between all nations,  
 is the interchange of mutual assistance for their  
 improvement; and the first general law that we  
 discover in the very object of the society of na-  
 tions, is that each individual nation is bound to  
 contribute every thing in her power to the hap-  
 piness and perfection of all the others."  
 Did not this law conclusively bind them to interfere  
 and contribute to the happiness and perfection of  
 Africa? The same great author informs us, that  
 the second general law is, "That every nation  
 should be left to the peaceable enjoyment of  
 that liberty, which she inherits from nature."  
 No one can deny that the slave trade destroys  
 the peaceable enjoyment of liberty; surely the  
 Sovereigns in Congress should have imperatively  
 said, "We are in duty bound to enter into this  
 question; we are assembled for the preserva-  
 tion of other nations; to secure them from ruin,  
 contribute to their perfection, render them justice  
 ourselves, and to use all proper endeavours that  
 such justice be universally dispensed."

Such is the sound principle those mighty Monarchs  
 would have declared, and could have supported  
 their determination by the highest authority.  
 Vattel, writing on the duty of nations, (b. 2, c. 1.)  
 says, "No one nation should hinder another from  
 attaining the end of civil society, or render her  
 incapable of attaining it; which general prin-

" ciple forbids nations to practise any evil manners  
 " vres tending to create disturbances in another  
 " state, to foment discord, to corrupt its people, to  
 " raise enemies, or deprive it of natural advan-  
 " tages." The slave trade surely creates all those  
 evils. Then they might have concluded; " the  
 " learned Grotius (de Jure, B. and P. L. 2nd. C. 20.)  
 " asserts, that a Sovereign may justly take up arms  
 " to chastise nations which are guilty of enormous  
 " transgressions against the law of nature:" and  
 thus, from their general conduct, I am authorized  
 in saying they would have replied, had they been  
 ably incited by a learned and eloquent remonstrance  
 addressed to them when assembled on the great  
 bench of justice, declaring and enforcing the law  
 of nature and nations, for the prosperity, protec-  
 tion, and happiness of mankind. A dictum, that  
 the slave trade was contrary to the law of nature  
 and nations, would have issued; those merciless  
 miscreants that avariciously persevere in it, might  
 then have been seized on in their true character,  
 " hostes humani generis," and annihilated: but in  
 truth I cannot any where discover, an effort decla-  
 ratory of a sincere determination to have this trade  
 exterminated!!!

The late decision of Congress, now ultimately  
 leaves the completion of this question with Lord  
 Castlereagh; who I hope will cease to communicate  
 privately with those pilferers of his popularity;  
 from which I anticipate the most favourable result:  
 for although we have lost the opportunity of catch-

ing the collective concurrence of the Sovereigns of Europe, yet we may obtain their individual acquiescence to establish this traffick in fellow-creatures, a violation of the law of God, of Nature, and of Nations. France has pledged herself to aid and assist Great Britain in the completion of this great work, lovely in the contemplation of God and man; the finest feelings of this empire will be gratified; and the Statesman under the crown of England, who shall be the instrument in obtaining this fulfilment of our wishes, by his zeal, his wisdom, his benevolence, and perseverance, will deservedly enjoy, the Christian's blessing, and the Negro's prayer.

I have said Sir, I would rejoice to see you resign the prominent part you have so unsuccessfully taken, in abolishing the slave trade; because I am satisfied it is now placed in as able and zealous a person's direction, as could have been selected. Let him only be fanned by a little of the same popular breath, that has so long kept alive your exertions, and every desirable object will be accomplished in five years; though for five and twenty, in the blaze of popularity, nothing beneficial was effected by you.

But you proclaim your desire, that "Africa should be cultivated, and civilized; commerce with England established, and the arts introduced." As I have said before, you have a strong and rich party, that go together naturally; for their object is power, and their means, the force

of consolidated numbers. To support, and be supported, is the bond of union. The Societies you lead, are rich, and would be richer, if their funds were not uselessly lavished, for private advancement, blandishment, or emolument; yet if you will forward your professed objects, you can still render great benefit to Africa. Present annually the native Chiefs, who have relinquished the slave trade, with something useful or contributory to their comfort. It is but justice; for if the Chief loses his comforts by the exertions of England, he may naturally look to England for some compensation; until other sources are opened, from whence he can attain a supply, give him implements of agriculture, and the instruments used by mechanics; you may quickly observe to what good use they will be turned; give a few articles for common use, and some thing for luxury, as tobacco, bafts, beads, a little rum, a little powder and shot, and a few fowling pieces. The Chieftains may *then* begin to think the white men honest, and really desirous to befriend them; though at present they have no such belief; while we are useful, they will have intercourse, and when friendly they will have confidence: having obtained this foundation, you may safely send persons to instruct the rising generation. Thus you raise the superstructure; establish a market for the natural productions of the country, and the superfluities of labour; then you will soon convince every Potentate on that continent, how much more valuable it is, to employ the hands of their fellow-creatures, than to barter their bodies. After

this confidence is obtained, they will court you into the interior; as you contribute to their comforts and gratifications, they will give you their commerce and wealth; there will be a reciprocity of commercial advantages, now buried under suspicion; and when you infuse knowledge into the children, the next generation will imbibe the principles of justice, and the precepts of religion. Thus you will at length facilitate civilization, and increase the happiness of Africa; while you augment trade, and pour wealth into the lap of England.

On this subject I could enlarge with pleasure; point out the Chiefs, and the places on the coast, (the patronage of which you wished to possess) from the Gambia, to Angola; but I am exhausted; fearful that few who read this will completely understand it, because few are conversant with the west coast of Africa, the slave trade, the Abolition Acts, the Company and African Institution Reports, or the deplorable state of Sierra Leone. I would labour to render the entire subject perspicuous, but the hour of my departure may be at hand, and the moment to procure investigation must not be lost.

I have no time for condensation; not even for sufficient correction. All I could do privately, I have done; but my exertions were vain. I wrote to you from Africa; I spoke to you here; Mr. Allen persuaded you to call me before a Committee of the African Institution, which I found to be made up



of the *select* friends of the party, and a few disinterested and amiable, but timid men. I expected nothing, and was not disappointed. They considered, it would be dangerous to impeach the management, curtail the patronage, or contract the mercantile interest, of an old directing servant and friend.

You then importuned me, until I promised to make written remarks on your Reports, which I assured you were "delusive and fallacious from beginning to end." I complied with your request, and satisfied you I said nothing, that I would not write; or that I would write nothing, I could not prove; for I concluded my Introduction thus, "I only request, in return for the trouble I have taken, that if I have said, or have written any thing on which a doubt can hang, that I may be called on for farther proof, and it shall be immediately given." Yet in private it was whispered there was no proof of what I had said, or written, though I offered it; and though I caused to be brought before you, three of the oldest, most intelligent, most respectable, and most independent gentlemen, you yourselves ever sent to the colony; for Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Vanneck, and Mr. Nichol, were all servants to the Sierra Leone Company, and afterwards held considerable offices under the crown. But every thing beneficial to Sierra Leone, to Africa, or to England, to support your own professions or promises, to expose the defalcation of funds, or the aggrandizement of individuals, was to

be prohibited ; every sacrifice was to be made to concealment ; no inquiry to be instituted, no attention paid to any representation ; lest exposure should tear the pillars from under the Temple of Promise, and the fame of the very elders perish in the ruins.

I was misrepresented, lest my representations should have been attended to, or consultation, or reference lead to disclosure. This appeal was my "dernier resort;" I embraced it; and have written most rapidly the foregoing pages, in sickness and anxiety; while every energy of my mind was enfeebled by oppression and annoyance. But I am released from a weight of responsibility and care; I have discharged a great duty; and my mind is relieved; with pleasure I look on these sheets however defective; and deliver them to the publick, with the determination of a man, that has laboured to do well; and I hope with a spirit, that depression could not make pusillanimous, nor elevation arrogant.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT THORPE.

FOLEY PLACE,  
Feb. 1, 1815.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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SINCE writing the foregoing pages, it has given me great pleasure to learn, that the Secretary of State, (actively alive to the call of justice and humanity) has already relieved the unfortunate Messrs. Brodie, Cook, and Dunbar, from the misery of confinement in the Hulks; the Lords of the Treasury and other Public Departments will soon perceive the fœtid fountain from whence they have heretofore derived their information concerning this mischievously managed colony of Sierra Leone; rapacity will then be restrained and persecution chastised, but when the period arrives for the healing balm of retribution to flow from the King in Council, and His Majesty's Courts of Law, "there will be a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness."

## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

*Petition from the Nova Scotia Settlers, to the  
Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, in  
1793.*

“ THAT your Petitioners are sensible of, and  
“ thankful for, the good intended, by sending them from  
“ Nova Scotia to this country; and, in return, assure the  
“ Directors, they are well inclined to assist the Company’s  
“ views all in their power.

“ That they are grieved beyond expression to be forced to  
“ complain of hardships and oppressions loaded on them by  
“ the Managers of the Colony, which, they are persuaded,  
“ the Directors are ignorant of.

“ That the promises made by the Company’s Agents, in  
“ Nova Scotia, were preferable to any ever held out to them  
“ before; and, trusting the performance of them, (with the  
“ Almighty’s assistance, and their own industry,) would better  
“ their condition, induced them to migrate here. That  
“ none of those promises have been fulfilled, and it has been  
“ insinuated to them, that Mr. Clarkson had not authority

“ for making any, they therefore beg to be informed, whe-  
 “ ther such is the case or not, and that the Directors will  
 “ point out on what footing they are considered.

“ That health and life is valuable and uncertain; that not-  
 “ withstanding they labour under the misfortune of wanting  
 “ education, their feelings are equally *acute* with those of  
 “ *white* men, and they have as great an anxiety to lay a  
 “ foundation for their children's freedom and happiness as  
 “ any human beings can possess. That they believe the  
 “ Directors wish to make them happy, and that they think  
 “ their sufferings are principally due to the conduct of the  
 “ Company's Agents here, which, they suppose, have been  
 “ partially represented to the Directors.

“ That Mr. Clarkson had promised, in Nova Scotia,  
 “ among other things, they should be supplied with every  
 “ necessary of life, from the Company's stores, at a moderate  
 “ advance of ten per cent. on the prime cost and charges.  
 “ That while Mr. Clarkson remained in the Colony, they  
 “ paid no more: but since then, they have been charged  
 “ upwards of a *hundred* per cent. That they would not  
 “ grumble even at that, if the worst of goods were not sold,  
 “ and paltry advantages taken of them, particularly in the  
 “ article of rum. That they had known, by Mr. Dawes's  
 “ order, several puncheons filled up with thirty gallons of  
 “ water each; and even, though thus reduced, sold to them  
 “ at a more extravagant price than they had ever paid  
 “ before.

“ That the only means they have of acquiring those goods,  
 “ is by labouring in the Company's service; and even this  
 “ they are deprived of, at the whim of Mr. Dawes, or any  
 “ other gentleman in office, which they consider a prodi-  
 “ gious hardship, as it is the only resource whereby they can  
 “ provide bread for their families. That, out of mere pique,

“ several have been discharged from service, and not permitted, even with their little savings, to purchase provisions from the Company’s store-house, the only one here.

“ That Mr. Clarkson informed them before he sailed for England, the Company had been mistaken in the quantity of land they supposed themselves possessed of, and in consequence only one fifth-part of what was originally promised them (the petitioners) could be at present performed; which quantity the surveyor would deliver them in a fortnight at farthest, but they should have the remainder at a future time.

“ That they should have been satisfied had they got one-fifth of their proportion *in good land*, time enough to have prepared a crop for the ensuing year, but the rains are now commenced, and the surveyor has not finished laying out the small allotments, which he might have done had he not relinquished the work as soon as Mr. Clarkson sailed; and the greater part of those he has surveyed are so mountainous, barren, and rocky, that it will be impossible ever to obtain a living from them.

“ We will wait patiently until we hear from you, because we are persuaded you will do us justice; and if your Honours will inquire into our sufferings, compassionate us, and grant us the privileges we feel entitled to from Mr. Clarkson’s promises, we will continually offer up our prayers for you, and endeavour to impress on the minds of our children the most lasting sense of gratitude,”  
 &c. &c.

## No. II.

## " PORTUGUESE SLAVE TRADE.

" *Copy of the Tenth Article of the Treaty of*  
 " *Friendship and Alliance between HIS BRI-*  
 " *TANNIC MAJESTY and His Royal Highness*  
 " *THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL, signed*  
 " *at Rio de Janeiro the 19th of February 1810 ;*  
 " *and published by Authority.*

" " His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal,  
 " being fully convinced of the injustice and impolicy of the  
 " Slave Trade, and of the great disadvantages which arise  
 " from the necessity of introducing and continually renew-  
 " ing a foreign and factitious population for the purpose of  
 " labour and industry within his South American dominions,  
 " has resolved to co-operate with His Britannic Majesty in  
 " the cause of humanity and justice, by adopting the most  
 " efficacious means for bringing about a gradual Abolition  
 " of the Slave Trade throughout the whole of his dominions.  
 " And actuated by this principle, His Royal Highness the  
 " Prince Regent of Portugal engages that his subjects shall  
 " not be permitted to carry on the Slave Trade on any part  
 " of the Coast of Africa, not actually belonging to His Royal  
 " Highness's dominions, in which that trade has been dis-  
 " continued and abandoned by the Powers and States of  
 " Europe, which formerly traded there ; reserving, however,  
 " to his own subjects the right of purchasing and trading in  
 " slaves within the African dominions of the Crown of Por-  
 " tugal. It is, however, to be distinctly understood, that the

“ stipulations of the present article are not to be considered  
 “ as invalidating or otherwise affecting the rights of the  
 “ Crown of Portugal to the territories of Cabinda and Mo-  
 “ lembo (which rights have formerly been questioned by the  
 “ Government of France), nor as limiting or restraining the  
 “ commerce of Ajuda and other ports in Africa (situated  
 “ upon the coast commonly called in the Portuguese lan-  
 “ guage, the *Costa de Mina*), belonging to or claimed by the  
 “ Crown of Portugal : His Royal Highness the Prince Re-  
 “ gent of Portugal being resolved not to resign nor forego  
 “ his just and legitimate pretensions thereto, nor the rights  
 “ of his subjects to trade with those places, exactly in the  
 “ same manner as they have hitherto done.’

“ *Extract from the Fifth Article of the Treaty of*  
 “ *Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between*  
 “ *the above contracting Parties; signed as*  
 “ *above.*

“ ‘ In order to avoid any differences or misunderstanding  
 “ with respect to the regulations which may respectively con-  
 “ stitute a British or Portuguese vessel, the high contracting  
 “ parties agree in declaring, that all vessels built in the do-  
 “ minions of his Britannic Majesty, and owned, navigated,  
 “ and registered according to the laws of Great Britain,  
 “ shall be considered as British vessels. And that all ships  
 “ or vessels built in the countries belonging to his Royal  
 “ Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, or in any of  
 “ them : or ships taken by any of the ships or vessels of war  
 “ belonging to the Portuguese Government, or any of the in-  
 “ habitants of the dominions of his Royal Highness the Prince  
 “ Regent of Portugal, having commissions or letters of marque  
 “ and reprisal from the Government of Portugal, and con-  
 “ demned as lawful prize in any Court of Admiralty of the said



“ Portuguese Government, and owned by the subjects of his  
 “ Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, or any of  
 “ them, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the ma-  
 “ riners, at least, are subjects of his Royal Highness the  
 “ Prince Regent of Portugal : shall be considered as Portu-  
 “ guese vessels.”

*Here follows the Commentary, on these Articles,  
 by the African Institution.*

“ From these extracts, it appears, that no Portuguese Slave  
 “ Trade is lawful which is carried on at any part of the coast  
 “ of Africa, not actually under the dominion of the Crown of  
 “ Portugal ; and that therefore all vessels trading contrary to  
 “ this stipulation are liable to seizure. It further appears,  
 “ that to give any vessel a title to the protection of the Por-  
 “ tuguese flag in carrying on even this limited traffic in slaves,  
 “ it is necessary that she should either be built in the domi-  
 “ nions of Portugal, or condemned as prize in a Portuguese  
 “ Court of Admiralty ; and that in either of these cases she  
 “ should be owned by a Portuguese subject or subjects, and  
 “ that her master and three-fourths of her crew should also  
 “ be Portuguese subjects.”

## No. III.

*“ Copy of Lord Castlereagh's Instructions to the  
 “ Lords of the Admiralty respecting Portuguese  
 “ Slave Ships.*

*“ Foreign Office, May 6, 1815.*

*“ My Lords,*

*“ In consideration of complaints received  
 “ from the Government of Portugal, respecting certain  
 “ seizures of Portuguese ships employed in carrying Slaves  
 “ from the coast of Africa, I am commanded by his Royal  
 “ Highness the Prince Regent, to desire that your Lord-  
 “ ships will be pleased to instruct his Majesty's cruisers not  
 “ to molest Portuguese ships carrying Slaves bona fide on  
 “ the account and risk of Portuguese subjects, from ports  
 “ of Africa belonging to the crown of Portugal, to the  
 “ Brazils: but by this instruction it is by no means intended  
 “ that vessels, as hereafter described, should not be brought  
 “ in for adjudication, viz. :*

- 1. “ A Portuguese ship bound from a Portuguese port in  
 “ Africa, with a cargo of Slaves to any port not subject to  
 “ the Prince Regent of Portugal.*
- 2. “ Any Portuguese ship bound to, or having taken her  
 “ departure with a cargo of Slaves from, any port in Africa,  
 “ not under the dominion of the crown of Portugal.*
- 3. “ Any Portuguese ship, the property on board of which,  
 “ being a cargo of Slaves, is other than Portuguese.*
- 4. “ Any ship whatever, laden with Slaves, wherein the  
 “ ship or the Slaves are in whole, or in part, the property of  
 “ a British subject, or of a citizen of the United States.*

article continues, "reserving however to his own subjects the right of purchasing and trading in slaves within the dominions of the Crown of Portugal:" and after this reservation, wherever there is a spot on the coast of Africa, about which a doubt could be started as to his dominions; the Prince Regent stipulates, that his right shall not be disputed; and then he claims Cabinda, Molembo, Ajuda, the Costa da Mina, or any part of Africa, to which *the Crown of Portugal has any pretensions*; and the article concluded thus: "His Royal Highness being resolved not to resign, or forego, his just and legitimate pretensions; nor the right of his subjects to trade with those places, as they had formerly done;" thus the last part directly contradicts the intention declared in the first: because Portugal claims, the whole coast by gift from the Pope; such being the foundation of this title, her pretensions are not to be disputed; nor the right of her subjects to trade, in consequence of those pretensions; and lastly, in confirmation of the Crown's pretensions, and the subject's right, the Royal passports issued (in general), extend the leave to trade over the whole coast of Africa. It is evident then, if we attend to this contradictory article, it must be from considering its intention, as declared in its commencement; and in that way I shall examine it. The Prince Regent of Portugal, having bound himself by this Treaty to confine his subjects to the slave trade from the dominions of the Crown of Portugal, we have to consider where his real dominions on the coast of Africa do exist; and as I have assiduously investigated this subject, my information may perhaps be useful. At Molembo, not a vestige proclaims that the Portuguese ever had any possessions there; nor do the natives allow they ever had. At Cabinda, there remain a few stones, to mark the spot where a Fort might once have stood, in possession of the Portuguese; but the native Chiefs maintain, they were only suffered to be there for trade, without any claim to dominion. At Ajuda, they have a flag-staff and factory, for the possession

of which they pay the King of Dahomy; this will not constitute dominion; and in no other place on the Costa da Mina have they a twig to mark a semblance, even of former residence; nor would the Sovereign Powers on the coast allow, that the Portuguese Crown had a foot of dominion in any of those places mentioned in this article of the treaty: but on the Continent, near the isle of Bissao, they have a small possession, and so small it is, that although Bissao only exports about seven hundred slaves a year, yet those few they are obliged to obtain from the Bajugas, or the native Chiefs around them. At Ajuda, they obtain their slaves from the King of Dahomy; from Onim, Logos, Papo, Porto-Novo, &c. &c. by canoes chiefly. At Cabinda, they are supplied from Loango, Atabriz, and the Congo, also by canoes; and at the islands of Princes and Saint Thomas (being at a distance from the Continent), they are supplied by small vessels from the rivers Gabon, Boney, Calabar, &c. &c.

It can be positively proved, that the Prince Regent of Portugal does not actually possess any dominions in Africa, except at Saint Pauls de Loanda, Novo Rodunda, and at Saint Philip's Benquila; therefore, under this Treaty, his subjects can fairly carry slaves only from those places; for it is the poorest sophism to argue, that they export their slaves from their own dominions, because their ships anchor at Princes, Saint Thomas, Ajuda, or Cabinda, when the slaves purchased from the native Chiefs on the Continent, are only removed into those ships by canoes, or small sloops, from dominions to which Portugal has no claim, and over which she never exercised any control.

Between latitude eight and twelve, South of the Equator, the Prince Regent of Portugal has those extensive dominions from Saint Paul's to Saint Philip's, where also he has forts, forces, custom houses, and executive governments; and to

this territory does the treaty confine his subjects to trade : surely it is a sufficient space for mercenary man, to extend his power of entailing on subdued man interminable slavery.

The last point to be considered is, that by this Treaty the Regent binds himself gradually to abolish this nefarious trade ; whereas, his subjects have rapidly increased it ever since the Treaty was signed. There is a Custom house at St. Paul's di Loanda, and at St. Philip's Benquila, where small duties are paid ; therefore it can be ascertained what number is exported from Africa to the Brazils, when the trade is properly confined to those places ; it can also be known what number is received at the Brazils ; because their law directs a royal duty there, and the Passports could regulate the number that should be exported and imported, by specifying in the body of the Passport, how many the ship for which it is given shall be allowed to carry. At the same time our Court may justly insist, that an annual diminution of the number should be enforced under the control of the Passports, according to the spirit of the Treaty : for it is but justice to demand, not only a gradual diminution ; but that also, as for five years, they have unfairly increased their trade, so, now they should diminish in a proportion adequate to the increase they have so faithlessly obtained. This will be sufficient for the present.

## No. V.

*Instructions to the Navy, sent by the African Institution.*

" 1st. A quantity of water casks wholly disproportioned  
 " to the ordinary consumption of the ship's crew, and can  
 " only be wanting for a living cargo.

" 2d. A quantity of provisions, as rice or beans, likewise far  
 " exceeding the wants of the crew. This, however, is not  
 " a necessary criterion, because it happens in many cases,  
 " that rice, instead of being taken from England, is pur-  
 " chased on the coast, for the purpose of feeding the slaves.

" 3rd. Barricadoes and Bulk-heads to confine the slaves,  
 " either erected, or prepared with a view to future erec-  
 " tion.

" 4th. Small tubs for messing the slaves, commonly  
 " called Mess Kitts, in the proportion of one for every eight  
 " or ten slaves.

" 5th. Chains and fetters for the slaves; though these  
 " may have been shipped under the general name of iron-  
 " mongery, and put up in casks till wanted for use, in order  
 " to avoid suspicion.

" 6th. Main-deck gratings, used almost exclusively on board  
 " slave ships. It generally happens, that, to escape detec-  
 " tion, these are boarded over at top, so as not to be visible  
 " to a person standing on the deck; but the fraud may be  
 " discovered by holding up a light beneath the deck, as then  
 " the gratings will be seen.

"Where any of these circumstances are found to exist and especially where all are found to exist, a strong ground of suspicion is furnished; such a ground as would justify the Captain of a man of war in pursuing his investigation farther. Indeed, were they all to be found united, it is apprehended that there would be no room to hesitate about detaining the vessel."

FINIS.

*From the Author*

**A LETTER**  
**TO HIS**  
**ROYAL HIGHNESS**  
**THE**  
**DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.**





11/11/11



A  
**LETTER**

DT  
515  
T52.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

**DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,**

PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION,

FROM

**ZACHARY MACAULAY, ESQ.**

OCCASIONED BY A

PAMPHLET LATELY PUBLISHED

BY DR. THORPE,

LATE JUDGE OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE,

ENTITLED

*"A LETTER TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ." &c. &c.*

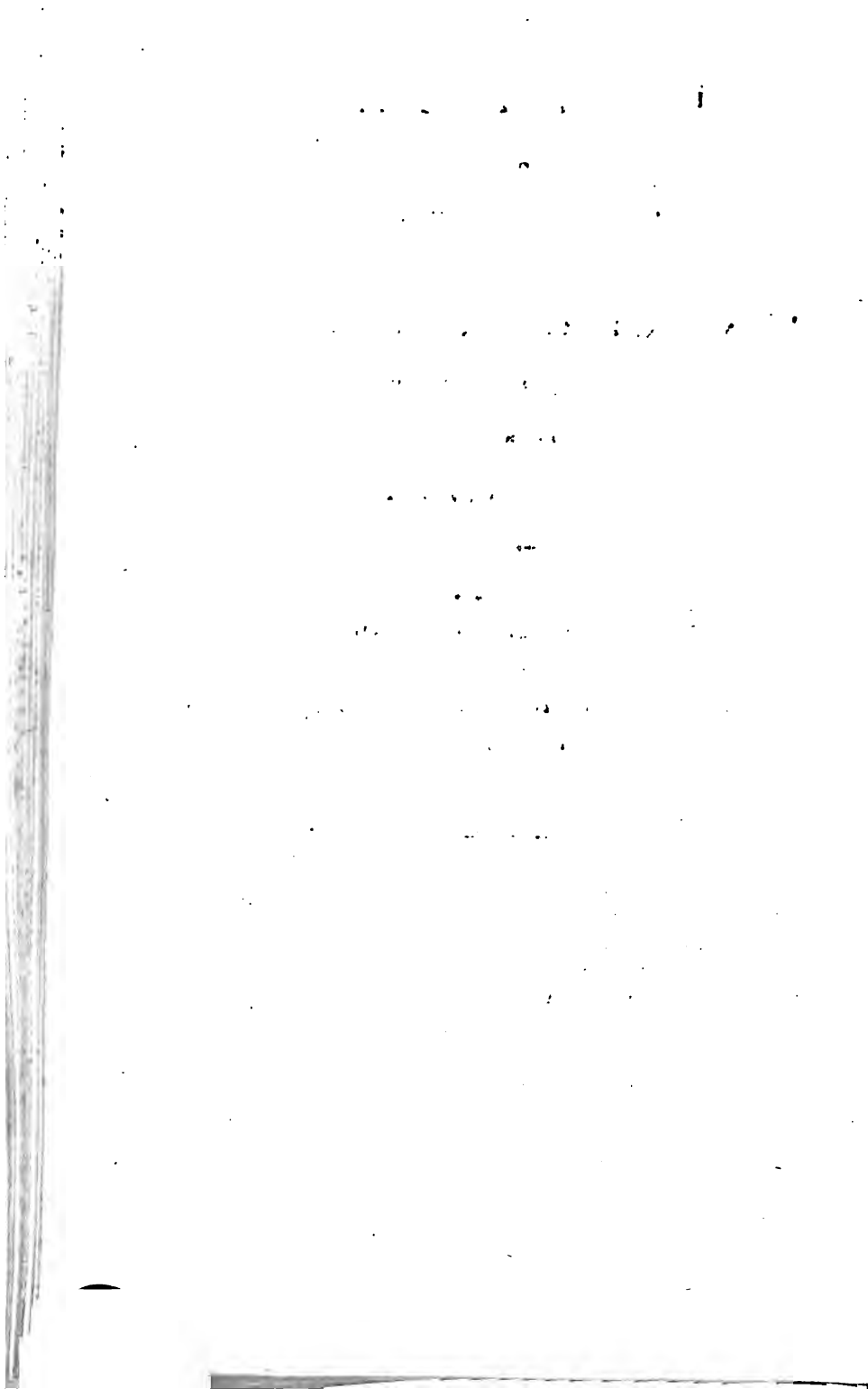
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LONDON:

PRINTED BY ELLERTON AND HENDERSON,  
JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET;

FOR JOHN HATCHARD, BOOKSELLER TO THE QUEEN,  
190, PICCADILLY.

1815.



Dr.

Berry

4-27-49

66603

## LETTER,

&c. &c.

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SIR,

**T**HE flattering and condescending kindness with which your Royal Highness has been pleased to honour me, has emboldened me to address to your Royal Highness some observations on the attack which has been made on my character in a pamphlet lately published by Dr. Thorpe. As this attack has a reference chiefly to my conduct while I held the situation of Secretary of the African Institution, there seemed to me a propriety in addressing my vindication to its illustrious President.

With your Royal Highness, and the many noble and distinguished characters who conduct the affairs of that Institution, I have had the honour of being associated for upwards of eight years. If the charges which Dr. Thorpe has

thought proper to bring against me should prove to have their foundation in truth, I must be admitted to be utterly unworthy of such an association. I cannot, therefore, but feel solicitous to convince your Royal Highness that those charges are false and calumnious; and to this object my present address will be confined. I leave to other and abler hands the defence of the Sierra Leone Company and the African Institution.

Some of Dr. Thorpe's allegations he affects to support by extracts from letters of my own. It may be proper to explain in what manner those letters became accessible to him. When Mr. Thompson succeeded Mr. Ludlam in the government of Sierra Leone, the latter gentleman left behind him, in the Government House, the books and papers of the Sierra Leone Company, as well as a great mass of his own private papers, which he intended afterwards to remove. Mr. Thompson, however, when applied to, expressed his determination to retain them in his hands "as public papers." The following is a copy of the Minute of Council which was transmitted to Mr. Ludlam on this occasion.

"The Governor reported that he believed it to be of importance that the originals of certain papers, left in the Council Room as public

papers, by T. Ludlam, Esq. late Governor of this Colony, consisting of letters from the Chairman and Secretary of the Court of Directors of the Honourable the Sierra Leone Company, and others, to Governor Ludlam, or the acting Governor of this Colony, and to Thomas Ludlam, Esq. should be in readiness for production before his Majesty's Government, and prayed the consent of the Council to take the said papers into his private possession, and to convey them to England for the purpose of being employed as evidence on subjects connected with the administration and general circumstances of this Colony.

" Resolved, That the Governor be permitted to take into his private possession the originals of the said papers, and to convey them to England for the purpose above mentioned, provided that before he shall give over the administration of this Colony to the officer appointed to hold it, *ad interim*, he shall give to such officer a receipt in writing for the whole of such papers, specifying the nature and date of each paper.

" (Signed) GEO. RICKARDS, Sec."

Thus a great part, if not the whole, of my confidential communications for many years, with a friend to whom I opened myself on all

subjects without reserve, came into the hands of persons who have shewn that they were disposed to the utmost of their power to use them to my prejudice.

What particular parts of my correspondence with Mr. Ludlam were thus submitted to the eye of Mr. Thompson, and, through him, to that of Dr. Thorpe, I have had no means of knowing, Mr. Ludlam having died on the coast of Africa, except from the specimens which Dr. Thorpe has given to the public. If, however, as I strongly suspect, there were found among them letters in which I communicated to Mr. Ludlam my view of the characters of these gentlemen, it will be less difficult to account for the hostility which both have shewn me. In a private and confidential letter of mine to Mr. Ludlam, dated 12th March, 1808, and which I doubt not was comprehended in the above sweeping resolution, were some remarks respecting Mr. Thompson, which it is unnecessary to repeat. These were followed by a paragraph, in which Mr. Thorpe's appointment is notified. "Of Thorpe," I observe, "who is likely to go out as Judge, I have still less knowledge than of Thompson. His appointment rests wholly with the Secretary of State, and he is a stranger to all of us. He quarrelled with the Governor of Upper Canada; and though he *might* be right,

and the Governor wrong, yet he did not shew much moderation in his conduct on the occasion. This is suspicious." Again: "I should fear he might prove a little hot-headed. He professes to be friendly to our objects, but he is in utter ignorance of the whole subject of Africa. On the whole, I do not feel at ease as to his appointment."

In a subsequent letter I observed of Dr. Thorpe: "He is, as I believe, a man of some talents; but I fear he is not of the calmest and mildest temper in the world. He caused so much trouble in Upper Canada, where he acted as a Judge, that it was found necessary to remove him from his situation. There is some danger, therefore, of his proving perverse or wrong-headed."

Whether these letters, or others which I may have written in the same strain, and of which I have retained no copies, were among those of which Mr. Thompson took possession, and were communicated by him, on his return to England, as interesting documents, to his friend Dr. Thorpe, I can only conjecture. But if they were, then I the less wonder at the tone of bitterness in which Dr. Thorpe has uniformly mentioned my name, and at his eagerness to impute to me, however improbably, the basest and most flagitious motives for all I have done, or attempted to do, for Africa.



Whether, also, my refusal to comply with the earnest application of Dr. Thorpe, for the loan of a sum of money, has had any influence on his feelings towards me, is, of course, best known to himself.

Still, however, had it pleased Dr. Thorpe to quote my sentiments fairly, as they appear in the letters to which he had access, it would have been impossible for him, even for a single moment, to have excited a doubt in the mind of the most uninformed reader as to my real views and intentions. He produces, for example, at p. 47 of his pamphlet, an extract from one of my letters, as proof that I had formed a settled purpose of establishing *slavery* at Sierra Leone. It is only necessary to give the context, in order to obviate such an imputation.

That letter was written in reply to one from Mr. Ludlam, in which he expressed his regret that I should have made up my mind against the expediency of any general plan for redeeming Africans from slavery, with a view to their being placed under British protection in Sierra Leone, and there enjoying the means of civilization and improvement. The whole of the letter, which has any reference to the subject, is as follows :

“ London, 1st May, 1807.

\* My dear Sir,

“ Your letters by the Goshawk arrived yes-

terday. A vessel of the Andersons', which is about to sail from Portsmouth, gives me the opportunity of replying to them. The vessel is the Polly.

" 2. To the duplicates of my letters by the Ann, now, I trust, half way at least on her voyage to Sierra Leone, I refer you for information of what passed previous to the 13th of April in this country, which had any relation to the Colony. I will proceed with the account from that time.

" 3. The Sierra Leone Transfer Bill had made its unresisted progress through its different stages in the House of Commons, and had been read a second time in the House of Lords, and would, without doubt, have passed without any opposition, when most unexpectedly, on the 27th of April, a prorogation of Parliament took place, which has since issued in its dissolution. This occasions a most unfortunate and unlooked-for suspension of the transfer. Parliament, however, assembles again on the 22d June, when not a day shall be lost in reviving the Bill, and carrying it through all its stages. No foresight could have anticipated the causes of delay which have arisen in this measure.

" 4. In the newspaper of the 17th April, you will see a detailed account of the formation of the African Institution. The dissolution of

Parliament has necessarily drawn Mr. Wilberforce, and many of the most respectable supporters of the Institution, from London, and will therefore occasion a postponement of the meeting appointed for the 12th inst. to a distant day. In the mean time, we are proceeding in arranging our plans, and framing our regulations. No doubt can be entertained of our receiving most extensive patronage and support. The Duke of Gloucester, and many distinguished Noblemen, have taken up the subject of African Civilization with great zeal, and seem determined to devote, not merely their money, and the influence of their names, but their time and thoughts to the promotion of it.

"5. I will now proceed to notice your last letters.

"There cannot be the slightest doubt, that all those who had promises of land from the Company, previous to the transfer being effected, must be considered as comprized in the general agreement entered into by Government to confirm all the rights of property already acquired in the Colony. If grants were actually made out for all lands promised to the settlers, it would doubtless be a means of obviating future difficulties and disputes. Yet if this be not practicable, a clear and intelligible minute on the subject, recording the nature and

extent of the promises which have been made, would, as I conceive, completely save the rights of the individuals to whom it may prove impossible to give formal grants. I shall not fail to keep this business fully in my mind, when the business of the transfer is resumed.

"6. You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this country on the subject of African slavery. While the Slave Trade lasted, I certainly felt very averse to the giving any direct encouragement to the purchasing Slaves with a view to the benefit of their labour for a certain given period; but I always looked forward to the event of the Abolition, as removing many objections to that system. Indeed, I have always been of the opinion, that, the Slave Trade being abolished, the most likely means of promoting civilization in that country would be by indenting the natives for a time, not exceeding seven years, or till they attained the age of twenty-one, under regulations which should be well defined and rigidly enforced."

But had it been intended to represent my sentiments fairly, not only would the last half of the preceding paragraph have appeared as well as the first, but the next letter I addressed to Mr. Endlam, on the same subject, would also have been published. It was as follows.

" London, May 4th, 1808.

" My Dear Sir,

" I enclose the first rude outline of a Memoir, which I have been projecting, on a subject which has been often discussed by us. I mean to complete it by filling up the outline, as far as I have gone, and also by adding some considerations relative to the advantages of the plan, and the various objections to which it is liable. I am not willing, however, to allow this opportunity to pass without calling your attention to the subject, however crude and unconnected my ideas on it may prove to be. I mean to submit it, when finished, to the Directors of the African Institution, who will be very anxious to have your sentiments upon it. You and Mr. Dawes will of course consider how far it will be proper to propose any such plan in your Report to Government, or at all to advert to it. It obviously would be advisable, if the plan were proposed, that it should be proposed with all its guards and limitations, so as to prevent its partial adoption—the adoption, I mean, of the general proposition as to ransoming Slaves, without those regulations which would ensure its beneficial tendency with respect to the Africans; whose benefit, I confess, I am disposed to make the *main*, I had almost said the *exclusive*, object."

The Memoir to which this letter refers, and in which my views of the subject are fully and clearly developed, will be found annexed\*. It was printed at the time, and several copies of it were sent to Sierra Leone. It was also formally submitted, in June 1808, to your Royal Highness and the Directors of the African Institution, who, after maturely considering it, resolved that it was inexpedient to adopt the measure which it proposed, and which, therefore, fell entirely to the ground.

The question which I undertook to discuss in that paper was certainly very important; and I think, that no unprejudiced person, who reads what I have written upon it, will be disposed to accuse me of a design to carry a favourite measure by omitting to state in their full force the objections which might be urged against it. Indeed I must confess, and by referring to the last part of the Memoir this will be seen, that those objections appeared to myself too formidable to be overcome.

But how came such a question as this to be agitated; either at Sierra Leone or in England? The reply to this inquiry may serve, perhaps, as an apology for those who brought the subject under discussion.

\* Appendix I.

When the benevolent Granville Sharp, (benevolent and sincere in the estimation of Dr. Thorpe himself,) in 1787, collected several hundred of the Black poor in London, and sent them to form a settlement at Sierra Leone, he drew up and published "A short Sketch of temporary Regulations (until better shall be proposed) for the intended Settlement on the Coast of Africa." The copy now before me is the third edition, printed in 1808, by Baldwin, Fleet Street. In that work, of which many copies were sent to Sierra Leone, there is a chapter, entitled "Redemption from Slavery." It thus commences:

"Though it is a fundamental principle of the Settlement, that all *slaves* shall be deemed *free* as soon as they enter it, so that no person can retain, or sell, or employ, a *slave* within the bounds of the settlement, yet there can be no impropriety in providing a means of repaying the expense of *redeeming slaves*, on the condition of a *short limited service*, as an apprentice or indentured servant, provided that the actual prices given for redemption can be sufficiently authenticated, that no more may be repaid, except, perhaps, a limited profit, not exceeding ten per cent. by way of interest, for advancing the price; and provided also that the said *limited service* of the contract be

not claimable by any individual, but by the public Exchequer only, after the redeemed person has consented to work out the price; where, by all possibility of domestic slavery, or private oppression, will be excluded; and the Exchequer will give an ample equivalent to the redeemed person, to insure his voluntary consent to a contract for a limited time of labour, not only by the protection it will afford him, but also by putting him in possession of a portion of land, equal to the quarter part of a decurer's lot, to be increased as he discharges his debt of labour; and by finding him provisions until he shall be able to raise provisions from his own land."

Mr. Sharp then proceeds to make the following calculation on the subject.

"Suppose the redemption of a man should cost ten pounds, (which, I believe, is about the average price on the coast), and suppose the labour of such a stranger be estimated only at sixpence sterling per day, though it is certainly worth much more, (perhaps three or four times as much), a limited service by the redeemed person, of five years to the public Exchequer, as an equivalent for the purchase of a full lot of protected land, with a gradual introduction to all the privileges of a free English settlement,



will amount, at 310 working days per annum (fifty-two Sundays and three holidays being deducted for the reasons already mentioned under the head of *Free Labour*), will amount, I say, to 38l. 15s.; out of which, after paying 10l. the price of redemption, and 10 per cent. for the advance of money, viz. 1l. more, there will remain in the public Exchequer (towards supplying food and necessaries to the labourer, till he can provide for himself, and for risk of loss by sickness or death) the sum of 27l. 15s. the surplus of which, if the redeemed person lives and does well, becomes the property of the public, in which he himself enjoys an equal share of profit; so that the purchase of a slave, under so equitable a regulation, will be really and truly a redemption from slavery to a state of freedom and protection."

"He adds the following regulations with respect to the persons who might thus contract to give their service for a limited time; and of these it will be seen that I have freely availed myself.

"The service even of indentured servants shall be strictly limited, viz. no person to be bound for a longer term than five years after the age of twenty-one, or of seven years if bound after the age of fourteen years, or of ten years if bound after the age of eleven years.

And if any indentured servant shall have just cause to complain of his master's behaviour to him, he shall be turned over to the care of the general asylum for males; and his labour, for the limited term of his indentures, shall be turned over to the public Exchequer, which shall purchase of the master all the remaining term of service."

"Every apprentice, or indentured male, above the age of sixteen years, that shall afterwards be introduced into the settlement from Europe, and every male bred in the settlement, as they arrive at that age, shall be allowed by the public as many acres of land to himself, adjoining to the out lot of his parent or of his master, as will amount to an eighth part of a lot, in order that he may employ his leisure hours to his own profit."

"With respect to an indentured servant or apprentice, if he shall be able, even before he is of age, to purchase out his indentures, either by the produce of his private portion of land, or by entering himself at the town bank, for such a proportion of his extra hours, or evening's labour, as shall be deemed equal to his strength, without injury to the labour due to his master, but not exceeding two hours (making ten hours labour in all per day), the master, must consent to the redemption, and the

into indentured person, even though he is not of age, shall be allowed to purchase one quarter of a lot in whatever township he shall chase, for one year's service (viz. 310 days' labour paid by installments as above) to the Exchequer of the township."

"Masters of apprentices, and also of indentured strangers, brought by them into the settlement, shall be obliged to register the said indentured persons in the public Exchequer of the township where he lives, together with the terms of their indentures, on the penalty of 310 days' labour for every wilful failure herein; and he shall be obliged to deduct from the limited time of indentured service, all the time that the apprentices or servants have worked for the public benefit."

Your Royal Highness will perceive, that this excellent man proposed his plan of redemption without any doubt respecting the beneficial consequences which it was likely to produce; and that he even made it an original law of his settlement. Had it not been for the single objection which, in the annexed Memoir, I have stated as fourth in my list of objections, I should have concurred with Mr. Sharp. But that objection had always appeared to me as insuperable; thus, while the British Slave Trade was continuing, I strenuously resisted the adop-

tion of the plan, even though it had been sanctioned by the venerated authority of Mr. Sharp. When the Slave Trade was at length abolished, I thought it due to Africa, that the subject should undergo a thorough discussion. It was brought with that view before the Directors, and received with my concurrence a decision in the negative. Had I even had any doubt, as to the propriety of this decision, I should willingly have sacrificed it to the concurrent voice of so many wise and benevolent men.

I certainly am not solicitous to exculpate myself from the charge of speculative error on this point. I am willing to give up my judgment to the severest animadversions of Dr. Thorpe. I am only desirous of shewing that I am not fairly chargeable with unfriendly views towards Africa, or with any low and sordid purpose, in having mooted this great question. I will, therefore, quit the subject with remarking, that however some persons may choose to confound such a plan with slavery, (a confusion of ideas, however, which was hardly to be expected in one bearing the title of Judge), there is probably no lover of freedom, nor friend of the human kind, who would not rejoice to witness its adoption in our West-India Islands, and who would not consider it as laying the foundation there of rational liberty, civilization,

and happiness. Can that system which we should hail in the West Indies with exultation, as being indeed a redemption from the complicated miseries of our colonial bondage, deserve to be stigmatized as cruelty, injustice, and hypocrisy, when applied to the Slaves of African chieftains? Dr. Thorpe tells us that the Slaves of White men are better taken care of than the Slaves of Black men (p. 21.) He would not, then, perhaps deny, that the condition of the latter, whom he describes as treated with "severity by the black chiefs," and as "often in danger of starvation," would be benefited by being redeemed from such a slavery, and placed under the protection of British law, administered in a free colony by such a judge as himself, even although they should have to work as apprentices or indentured servants for a limited time, in order to furnish the means of their own redemption.

On another private letter of mine, dated the 26th Feb. 1807, Dr. Thorpe (p. 38.) endeavours to ground a charge of ambition and rapacity. The best reply to this charge is to lay before your Royal Highness the whole of the letter from which Dr. Thorpe has chosen to extract three or four lines. Your Royal Highness will find it annexed\*.

\* Appendix II.

By combining the extract from this letter with another extract from a letter written by Mr. Henry Thornton, Dr. Thorpe labours to give to our designs, with respect to Africa, the character, which he wishes to impress on them, of ambition and rapacity. I therefore subjoin the whole of the paragraph of Mr. Thornton's letter from which he has quoted a part \*. Those who had the happiness to know the unimpeachable integrity of that distinguished and lamented character, and who knew also the largeness and liberality of his views, and the strength of his understanding, will easily appreciate the credit due to the insinuations which would wound his posthumous fame.

Your Royal Highness will now be able to judge of the degree of weight which belongs to the charges which Dr. Thorpe has chosen to found on this part of my correspondence. It will not, I am persuaded, be thought necessary that I should formally defend myself from the imputation of desiring to see the affairs of Africa committed to such hands as those of "Mr. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c." Whatever criminality may attach to this desire, I must plead guilty to the charge of having en-

\* Appendix III.

tertained it. It is a wish which I am not ashamed of having formed; and which, notwithstanding Dr. Thorpe's pamphlet, nine-tenths of the friends of African improvement would rejoice to see realized.

I do not know what idea of base and sordid advantage Dr. Thorpe may attach to the gratuitous performance of the duties which would be involved in such an appointment. I neither saw then, nor do I now, any reward to which such functionaries could look for their various and large sacrifices, their loss of time, their labour, and their thought, and for all their anxieties and responsibilities, unless it were the consciousness of being the ministers of civilization and happiness to millions of their fellow-creatures.

There remains, however, to be noticed, a third letter of mine, inserted by Dr. Thorpe at p. 31. It is one which was endorsed *secret*, and which in the very first line bears the character of a private and confidential communication. What right either Mr. Thompson or Dr. Thorpe had to give publicity to this letter, I pretend not to explain. I accept it, however, as no mean testimony in my favour, that, possessed as they have been of the mass of my private correspondence with a friend towards

whom I had no reserves, this should be the only letter which it would suit their hostile purpose to give entire to the public.

The triumphant manner in which this letter has been brought forward, and the labour which has been employed to convert it to an invidious use, proves either that Dr. Thorpe was scantily furnished with even colourable evidence to support his charges, or that he possesses some mode of understanding language peculiar to himself.

A copy of the letter itself is annexed, as it stands in my letter book\*.

Had this letter been published by me, I admit that I should have been greatly to blame in publishing it. I wrote what it contains with the same unreserved confidence with which I should have communicated to the same person, in private conversation, my undisguised sentiments of men and things.

Both Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Cooke know the world too well to suppose, that, in such confidential intercourse, their conduct and views, as well as those of public men generally, are not freely canvassed. And to put a case in point, neither of these gentlemen would be very willing that publicity should be given to whatever observations they might happen to



make to each other in the unlimited confidence of their private intercourse, (a confidence, however, which cannot be more unlimited and unreserved, than that which subsisted between myself, and my lamented friend Mr. Ludlam), on the character and proceedings of other persons, of Mr. Wilberforce, for example, or even of their own colleagues in office.

I cannot by any means admit, that considering the relation in which we stood to each other, I did wrong in communicating to Mr. Ludlam, my genuine and undisguised sentiments of the persons with whom he was thenceforward, as Governor of Sierra Leone, to be officially connected. I regret, indeed, that those sentiments should have been published, but having been published without any fault of mine, I do not retract them.—Mr. Cooke has too manly a mind ever to shrink from avowing his opinions; and he certainly had from the first, informed me, that he did not concur in those views of Abolition, and African civilization, to which I and my friends were attached.—And Lord Castlereagh will not be surprised, if before nine months had passed since he had vigorously opposed the Abolition Act, in the House of Commons; and long before we had witnessed those efforts of his talents and zeal in that cause, which I, for one, contemplate

with the most cordial satisfaction, I should have given him less credit for an anxious and wakeful attention to this subject, than he may have been entitled to claim. My letter was written in 1807: it is read in 1815.

Dr. Thorpe, represents it as a conclusive proof of my flagrant disrespect towards his Majesty's Government, that I should have thus expressed myself: "I have no doubt, that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them with respect to Africa, provided we will only save them the trouble of thinking."

I certainly believed, that the members of his Majesty's Government, were sincere in their wish to benefit Africa. But knowing how much they were engrossed by the great variety of objects, to which their attention must of necessity be directed, I cannot think, that it was disrespectful to them to suppose, that they could not give much time and thought to this new and large question. And it surely was paying them no ill compliment to suppose, that they would be inclined to adopt the suggestions of those who, as they well knew, had already devoted much time and thought to the consideration of it, and were deeply interested for the welfare of Africa.

Let it be always remembered, and surely the

recollection is material, that these words were not meant for the public eye. But it is the circumstance alone of their being submitted to the public eye, which can give to them even the slightest semblance of disrespect.

But my real meaning in this passage may be best illustrated by facts. This letter gives, somewhat flippantly I admit, the theory: but what was the practice? This would best appear from the series of letters which I actually did address to his Majesty's Ministers on the subject of African improvement; but as this would form too bulky a communication, I must content myself with referring your Royal Highness to the annexed specimen of them\*.

One of these letters was addressed to Lord Castlereagh, on the 8th May, 1807, about six weeks after the act abolishing the Slave Trade had received the Royal assent. No one who reads that letter will accuse me of having been remiss in calling the attention of his Majesty's Government to the general subject of Africa, or of having been sparing of my suggestions.

These letters will sufficiently explain to your Royal Highness what was the nature of my intercourse with his Majesty's Government, and what was the real practical meaning of the paragraph which has excited so much animadversion.

\* Appendix V. VI. VII. VIII.

I gratuitously *thought* and wrote on African subjects, with a view both to save the time and trouble of his Majesty's Ministers, and to serve Africa. How far what I have done is entitled to praise or censure, your Royal Highness is now, in some degree, enabled to decide.

But still Dr. Thorpe may choose to affirm, that his charge of fraud or dissimulation is fairly made out by this letter.—What! if I put a friend on his guard against committing himself incautiously in his correspondence with a person who I fear may be unfriendly to his views, am I therefore committing a fraud? Is there any man, acquainted with public life, who is not aware of the very injurious purposes to which an unguarded statement or an unqualified concession is applicable in the hands of an opponent? Every day's proceedings in Parliament furnish abundant illustration of this fact, and shew how easily even truth, incautiously and partially stated, may be made, by interested or prejudiced parties, to produce “the effect of falsehood.”

But what was it which called for so marked a caution at this particular juncture? In the first place, the same vessel which carried this obnoxious letter carried out orders to Mr. Ludlam to transfer the Colony to Government, and to correspond in future with the Colonial

Department: It did seem to me, therefore, important that I should hint to him the necessity, if he would not injure the cause he had at heart, of being cautious and measured in his communications. Besides this, I had just received from him a letter which is annexed, dated 14th April, 1807\*.

I produce this letter, because it can now do no harm to produce it. But will any man who fairly considers the tendency of many of the hasty, though very able and ingenious speculations which it contains, venture to say, that it would have been desirable that such a letter should, at that time, have been addressed to either a "secret enemy" or "a lukewarm friend" of the cause? Many of those speculations have been falsified by the event; and it was my opinion at the time, that they would be so falsified. But it is by no means clear to me, that they might not have been realized, had they, in such a form, and under such authority, found their way to hostile hands. Was it then unreasonable in me, to suggest to Mr. Ludlam, not to discourage the exertions of benevolence by such dubious discussions as have now been laid before your Royal Highness; or to hint, that those who did not know the reasoning and spe-

relative turn of my friend's mind would regard the cause as "desperate when he seemed to doubt," and that, in such a case, "his formidable testimony might be converted to a very adverse purpose."

But why should I have urged Mr. Ludlam to be the organ of information, or to suggest measures, which I myself was perhaps equally capable of doing? For several plain and obvious reasons. He held an official situation; I did not. He had resided in Africa for the preceding eight years, which I had not: and besides this, being on the spot, he would be able to furnish the most valid reasons, and the newest facts in support of his suggestions. In short, on African subjects, an official communication, written in Africa, was far more likely to command attention than an extra-official communication written in England.

I have thus explained, I hope to the satisfaction of your Royal Highness, all that is material in the charges which Dr. Thorpe has thought proper to make against my character, because it is all in support of which he adduces a title of evidence. It may be proper, nevertheless, briefly to advert to his other charges and insinuations which respect myself personally, however unsupported they may be by the slightest attempt at proof.

1. Dr. Thorpe affirms, that "the trade was secured to their managing Secretary."—I answer, that no step was ever taken by any one individual member of the Board of Directors, either of the Sierra Leone Company or of the African Institution, or by either of these Boards, in their collective capacity, or by both jointly, either directly or indirectly, to secure to me the trade of the Colony, or even to promote that trade in any way. When the Sierra Leone Company had ceased to trade to the Colony, I then felt myself fully at liberty to export goods thither. I asked no permission to that effect; I solicited no help; I employed my own capital; and to this day I have never made the smallest effort to interest a single individual in this country, whether connected or not with the Sierra Leone Company, or with the African Institution, or with the Government, in the promotion of my commercial views.

2. I never have had, nor could I have, a monopoly, or any thing which approached to a monopoly, of the trade of Sierra Leone. The three witnesses referred to by Dr. Thorpe, at p. 68. of his pamphlet, namely, Mr. Vanneck, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Nicol, whom he represents as men of respectability and intelligence, were fully examined in the month of January of the pre-

sent year, in a Committee of the African Institution, of which Mr. Brougham was Chairman; and they all testified, in the most unqualified terms, that nothing of monopoly either existed now, or had ever existed, at Sierra Leone; and that they did not conceive it possible to improve the commercial system of the Colony.

I have annexed a list of seventy-eight vessels, which entered the harbour of Sierra Leone, between the month of May, 1812, and the month of June, 1814; all of which landed goods there, and on board of only six of which had any goods of mine been shipped\*.

I annex also a statement of forty-one vessels which exported produce from the Colony during that time, with only two of which I had any concern†.

Dr. Thorpe resided at Sierra Leone, during nearly half of the above period, namely, from May, 1812, to March, 1813; and he must have known, that many ships, with cargoes on board, had entered the harbour and landed goods at Sierra Leone, and had also taken cargoes on board and sailed thence during that time, which did not, either in whole or in part, belong to me. And yet he affirms, that "the trade was

\* Appendix X.

† Appendix XI.



secured to their managing Secretary;" (p. 8.) that he has "nearly a monopoly of it;" that he is "the only person that has regular ships in trade from England." (p. 29.)

To conclude; whatever part of the trade of Sierra Leone I enjoy, I am indebted for it simply to myself: and that part I will endeavour to retain, and even to enlarge, notwithstanding the calumnious efforts of Dr. Thorpe to deprive me of it, as long as it shall yield me any profit. My profession is that of a merchant; and I know of no principle which forbids my exercising that profession in Africa, or in any other quarter of the globe, where I can do it with a fair and reasonable prospect of advantage.

3. Whatever be the degree of success I have had in my commerce with Africa, and on that point it will not be expected that I should make any specific declaration, that success was certainly hindered, instead of being promoted, by my holding the situation of Secretary to the African Institution. To your Royal Highness I can confidently appeal for the reluctance with which I originally agreed to fill that office, although Dr. Thorpe would represent me as seeking it from base and sordid motives. Your Royal Highness can also testify how repeatedly I expressed my anxiety to resign it, and with what eagerness I availed myself of the disposi-

tion which I found to exist in our present excellent Secretary to relieve me of the burden. This feeling, as your Royal Highness will do me the justice to believe, proceeded in no degree from any indisposition to devote as much time as I could spare from my private business to the gratuitous service of the Institution, but to the incompatibility which I found to exist, and of which I repeatedly complained, between the urgent claims on my time and attention of my private affairs, on which alone I depended for my own subsistence and that of a large and growing family, and those which were preferred by the increasing concerns of the African Institution. On this ground, and on this ground alone, it was with great reluctance that I continued to hold the situation; and at length I resigned it, with unfeigned satisfaction, into the hands of one who, with no less zeal for its objects, had more leisure and far superior talents for carrying them into effect.

4. To Dr. Thorpe's insinuation, (p. 10.) that private advantage must have been my motive, in what he calls the profuse expenditure of the Institution, in sending cotton seeds and machines to Sierra Leone, I need hardly reply. From the commencement of the Institution, no account was paid by it, which had not undergone the examination of a Committee, consisting of Mr.

William Allen, Mr. Thomas Furley Forster, and Mr. George Harrison. I myself had the honour to propose these names as a Committee of Accounts, under the firm persuasion that their examination of the accounts which came before them would be conducted with scrupulous accuracy. Besides, the articles in question were not furnished by me, but by respectable tradesmen, whose bills were presented by themselves for payment. And it will hardly be believed by the most credulous, that among the comparatively extensive commercial transactions in which I am known to be engaged, and the comparatively large trusts which are reposed in me, with all matters of business necessarily open to the inspection and animadversion of intelligent clerks, and every thing done for the African Institution necessarily subjected to the further investigation of such a Committee as I have named : no one, I say, will believe, even if I had had no higher considerations than those of self-interest to restrain me, that I should have endeavoured unfairly to turn to my private advantage, a shipment, amounting in value to less than 400*l.* ; being the whole of what was ever sent in any ship of mine.

5. But it is considered by Dr. Thorpe, as an irrefragable proof, both of the prodigality of the Directors, and of my rapacity, that fifty guineas

should have been given to me as a Premium for importing above ten tons of rice into this country.

A piece of plate, of the value of fifty guineas, had been promised by the African Institution to the first person who should import into this country the largest quantity of white rice, above ten tons. The house of Messrs. Z. Macaulay and Babington, having imported near 100 tons of that article in one ship, applied for the premium, and, having produced proof of the importation, obtained a vote for it. But it will probably be admitted by Dr. Thorpe himself, that a view to the *honour* of the vote, and not to the pecuniary benefit arising from it, influenced this application, when he is told, that as soon as the vote had passed, (on the very next day), I paid, in the name of my house, the sum of fifty guineas as a donation to the funds of the Society: so that this piece of plate, in point of fact, has not cost the Society a single sixpence.

But does Dr. Thorpe mean to say, that it is no benefit to Africa to encourage the importation of African rice into this country? In that case, my opinion differs widely from his. And it may, perhaps, be some proof that I have not been wholly indifferent to the improvement of Africa in regular industry, that my house, upwards

of two years ago, should have instructed its agent at Sierra Leone to induce the native Chiefs to enter into contracts for the regular supply of cargoes of rice.

6. But a further proof of the prodigality of the Directors, and of the selfish and sordid principles on which I have acted, is discovered by Dr. Thorpe in the gift of a piece of plate of the value of 100 guineas. I agree with Dr. Thorpe in thinking this a very unnecessary expense. I can safely appeal to many of the Directors, that I did all in my power to prevent its being incurred. Your Royal Highness and the Board of Directors, however, were pleased to think that five years of gratuitous service as Secretary, and some sacrifices I was supposed to have made to the general object, called for some more lasting mark of approbation than a vote of thanks; and, as is well known, I accepted it at length rather in deference to the kind and overwhelming importunity of your Royal Highness, and the Board, than from any sense I had that it was a merited application of your bounty.

7. *Through the influence of the Directors, however, I have had "great freights for my ships."*—Now the only Director, who ever gave me anything in the way of freight, was Mr. W. Allen;

and the whole amount of the freight reserved from him and the institution together, from the day on which it was formed to the present, has amounted to scarcely twenty tons.

8. *I have had the prize-agency of almost every man of war that has gone to the Coast.*—I have had the prize-agency undoubtedly of several ships; but neither for that, nor for the agency of the Governor and Garrisóns, had I made the slightest application. I am grateful indeed for this proof of confidence, but by me it was neither expected nor solicited. The officers who made the nomination, can best explain why they made it. This point may be ascertained by applying to the Hon. Capt. Irby, Capt. Seabell, and Col. Maxwell.

9. *I have had also the supply of the navy with provisions.*—My agents have certainly supplied to the ships of war stationed on the coast, at different times, considerable quantities of provisions; but only, I apprehend, because they were to be procured from me on better terms than they could be procured from any other merchant. If this supposition is incorrect, the blame will fall, not on me, but on those gallant and honourable men who commanded his Majesty's ships on that station.

10. *I have had the whole control of every thing attached to the Government.* I arranged

*the offices and recommended persons to fill them.*

—At the express solicitation of the Secretary of State, I took much pains and trouble, on the first transfer of the Colony to the Crown, to procure proper persons to fill the different offices in the Colony of Sierra Leone. I did so, very much to my own inconvenience and loss of time ; but I did so without the slightest advantage to myself. Of about twelve persons whom I engaged, on the behalf of Government, to go to Sierra Leone at that time, viz. in 1808, only one was in the slightest degree connected with myself. Of the other persons, several, particularly Mr. Grant, Mr. Vanneck, and Mr. Becket, were the intimate friends of Dr. Thorpe. They can doubtless inform him what were the sordid motives which influenced my selection ; whether it proceeded from a desire to execute conscientiously the commission entrusted to me by Government, or from a desire to serve some unworthy end of my own.

On this and on every occasion, I have been most prompt to serve Government, in all matters connected with Africa, whatever expense of time or of thought, or whatever sacrifice of convenience, it might occasion. But for such services I never received, nor desired, nor even expected, any remuneration whatever. What I did was freely and gratuitously perform.

ed to the best of my ability. Lord Castlereagh did indeed make me a voluntary offer of the agency of Sierra Leone ; and this offer I should probably have accepted. His Lordship, however, found that the agency had previously been promised to another person ; and, as he will bear me witness, the circumstance never drew from me the slightest expression of disappointment, nor led me to found upon it the slightest claim to further favours.

Since I executed the commission entrusted to me by Lord Castlereagh in 1808, of which I have already spoken, I have not taken any part in recommending to the Government persons to fill offices at Sierra Leone, except on one occasion. Governors Thompson, Columbine, Maxwell, and MacCarthy were all strangers to me ; and Dr. Thorpe will probably believe me when I say, that I had no hand in his appointments.

*I have provided, however, Dr. Thorpe affirms, for myself, my relations, and friends.*—Dr. Thorpe ought to have specified who my relations and friends were. Among the appointments already mentioned as made on my recommendation, was that of Mr. K. Macaulay, whose relationship to me consists in his being a second cousin. But was any undue preference given to him by me on that account ? That, I think, will not be



Interest; but I never received the slightest reply, nor did I ever renew my application in that or in any other direction.

I cannot deny (indeed I feel too much satisfaction in the circumstance to think of either denying or palliating it) that for the last twenty-three years I have enjoyed a close and intimate friendship—a friendship never interrupted, or even clouded, for a single moment; a friendship of the most unreserved and confidential description—with some of those truly excellent men who have taken the lead in the great cause of African freedom and civilization.—I cherish the memory of Henry Thornton's affectionate attachment with a delightful though melancholy recollection: and I may be allowed to exult in the unabated continuance of that of Mr. Wilberforce, and from a somewhat later period in that of Mr. Stephen and Mr. W. Smith, as far more than compensating any possible injury which my character can sustain from Dr. Thorpe's aspersions.

Neither can I deny—indeed I rejoice to reflect—that during the last ten years of my life I have been brought into frequent and free intercourse, not only with your Royal Highness, but with many of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of this realm, of all political parties, who have been pleased to admit

me to a participation, a confidential participation, with them; in their schemes and exertions for the benefit of Africa, and of the sons of Africa in all parts of the world.

But I make my confident appeal to your Royal Highness, and to those distinguished characters;—I make my confident appeal even to those more intimate associates whom I have first named;—whether my intercourse with them, or my influence with them whatever it may be, has ever, for a moment, been directed to selfish and sordid objects; or whether they can charge me with having made a single effort to turn to my own private advantage, *their* influence with any Government with which they may have been connected.

I am unwilling to dwell longer on this point. It certainly, however, deserves to be noticed as somewhat hard, that when, by my own personal exertions, I had procured the seizure of a slave ship in the river Thames, and her condemnation in the Court of Exchequer (from the proceeds of which seizure his Majesty's Treasury received about 6000*l.*)—and when I had voluntarily relinquished my own just share in this seizure, amounting to 2000*l.* to the Officers of his Majesty's Customs, in the hope that by such a sacrifice I should quicken their vigilance in detecting similar infractions of the Abolition Laws;—

when I had also gratuitously served the Institution, to the best of my power, and certainly to my own injury, for five years:—I say, it is somewhat hard that, after all this, I should now be arraigned before the public, by one who affects to be a friend of Africa, for selfishness and rapacity, because I had been presented by the African Institution, with a piece of plate, which cost 107*l.* 12*s.* and because I received a *vote* for another piece of plate, of the value of 50 guineas, which has cost the Institution literally nothing.

13. Much is said by Dr. Thorpe, of the delusion which I have attempted to practise on the friends who have blindly confided in me, and, through them, on the public.

I might appeal, in reply to this charge, to the uniform tenor of a life, not conducted in privacy and retirement, but in the view of numbers to whom I am well known, and who are well qualified to judge both of actions and motives. I might appeal to those great and honourable, those unimpeached and unimpeachable, characters, with whom I have lived for so many years on terms of unreserved and affectionate intercourse.—But I forbear—and will appeal only to a witness to whom Dr. Thorpe cannot object; I mean Mr. Thompson.

For some time before this gentleman went

to Africa, he was in the habit of occasionally coming to my counting-house in the city, and there receiving such intelligence as I could give him respecting Sierra Leone, as well as Africa in general. I freely opened to him all my sources of information. He had full access to all my books and papers, which he spent hours in examining; and I unreservedly answered all his inquiries respecting the Colony.—Did he complain, that my information to him had been delusive? On the contrary, his first dispatch to Lord Castlereagh, from Sierra Leone, dated 27th July, 1808, contains the following passage:—

“I have the honour to report to your Lordship, that I found the appearance of the Colony in many respects more favourable than I had reason to expect. The quantity of stock of all kinds which fill the streets of the Settlement, and the very respectable appearance of the inhabitants, are strong indications of prosperity, and of the increase of domestic industry.”

14. At p. 30, Dr. Thorpe scruples not to insinuate, that from the same base and sordid motives, which he has chosen to represent as influencing the whole of my conduct, I was desirous of obstructing an universal abolition of the Slave Trade, and of abolishing it only partially. I

will concede to Dr. Thorpe, that such a purpose as he attributes to me would mark the malignity of a *dæmon*, rather than any ordinary degree of fraud, dissimulation, and hypocrisy. But if I must reply to so extraordinary an imputation, I would reply by referring confidently to the uniform tenor of my exertions in this cause; to the whole of my communications with his Majesty's Government, some of which have been already annexed to this letter; and more especially to my communications with Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, since the month of May 1814.—Both Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington will admit, that, in my communications with them, I betrayed no symptom of lukewarmness or hesitation; and that I spared no personal labour or exertion which was likely to promote the object of total and universal abolition. And if in France and at Vienna, their zeal and their talents, their powerful arguments, and energetic representations, and persevering efforts, have produced a degree of success which the nation cannot but contemplate with gratitude to them and to the Supreme Giver of all good; they will not, I am persuaded, refuse to acknowledge, that in the humbler part of supplying facts and materials for the discussion, I was no inactive or inefficient labourer. — It will not, I trust, be

regarded as indecorous in me to make this appeal, at a moment when it has become necessary for my vindication from one of the foulest imputations by which the human character can be disgraced.

Here then, Sir, I close my defence; and, painful as it has been to me to obtrude my own personal concerns on the attention of your Royal Highness, I trust this letter may not be without its use, even as it affects the African Institution and the eminent characters who conduct its affairs. If Dr. Thorpe's charges, as they respect myself individually, have been invalidated; if, as I hope, they have been proved to be false and calumnious; then I think it will be difficult to persuade the public, that his charges against the African Institution, or the Sierra Leone Company, or the officers of the Crown at Sierra Leone, have any better foundation.

Had Dr. Thorpe been as well known to the public at large, as he is to the few individuals in this country who have had an opportunity of fairly appreciating his official, and even his private, character, I should not have thought it necessary to write a single line in my own vindication. As it is, the additions to his name may possibly influence those who know him

not, to credit his statements. But if I have at all succeeded in impressing my own view of those statements on your Royal Highness, the degree of credit which is really due to them can be no longer a matter of doubt.

As for Dr. Thorpe's attempts to injure the well-earned reputation of Mr. Wilberforce, and, above all, to place his own services to Africa in competition with those of that distinguished philanthropist, they are too ridiculous to require a single remark.

With sentiments of profound respect and  
gratitude,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

Obliged, obedient, and devoted Servant,

**ZACHARY MACAULAY.**

*Clepham, 6th April, 1815.*

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## APPENDIX.

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## APPENDIX.

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### I.

#### MEMOIR, &c.

**I**T is proposed that the colony of Sierra Leone should be made the medium of communicating civilization to the inhabitants of Africa. While, however, the population of that colony contains so small a proportion of native Africans; and while the general population of Africa continues, as at present, not only to be thinly scattered over a large surface, but to be subjected to all the evils incident to the nature of the governments existing there; the progress of civilization must necessarily be slow and uncertain.

The good effects produced by the commercial intercourse alone of a civilized, with an uncivilized people, have for the most part been small; and in some cases, as in that of the North-American Indians, such intercourse, so far from having been beneficial, has had a directly contrary tendency.

It is necessary, at least to the *rapid* growth of improvement, that men should be brought to live together in considerable bodies; that they should be protected by just laws; and that they should enjoy the means of instruction. It would be vain to look to any of the African states with which we are acquainted for these advantages. It may therefore deserve the mature consideration of the Directors, whether any, and what measures, may be adopted for enlarging the population of Sierra Leone, by the introduction

of native colonists; who would then be placed under the immediate influence of the British Government; who would participate in the security and equal protection which that Government affords its subjects; who would not only enjoy the benefit of example, but might also enjoy the farther benefit of direct and appropriate instruction; and of whom an expectation might reasonably be entertained, that, thus situated, they would speedily acquire habits of industry, as well as a competent knowledge of the arts and manners of civilized life.

Much undoubtedly may, and it is to be hoped will, be done, towards improving Africa, by placing intelligent instructors in the native towns and villages. It must nevertheless be obvious, that the improvement of any given portion of the African population would be much more promptly and effectually promoted (provided proper means were adopted for their improvement), by their being introduced into a society already civilized, than it could be, by stationing among them, in the capacity of teachers, a number of insulated individuals, however able and respectable; at the same time that by the former plan the means of providing such teachers would be greatly increased.

The question, therefore, which it is proposed to consider is this: By what means may the colony of Sierra Leone obtain an accession to its population of any considerable number of native Africans?

It may be supposed that much may be done to effect this object by inducing free natives to hire themselves to the colonists, in the capacity of labourers. But although a considerable number of such persons have usually been employed in Sierra Leone, hardly any of them have been found willing, even while the Slave Trade flourished, to reside there permanently. Their relations have lived in some native village at a distance; and to them, after acquiring a little property by their labour for eight or nine months, they have almost always chosen to return. The free native labourers, therefore, have been a shifting body; and from that circum-

stance it has been found impossible to subject them to regular instruction. Besides, the effects to be produced by instruction are chiefly to be looked for in the young, and not in adults, who alone hire themselves as labourers.

These migratory habits, it is true, might be corrected, if whole families of free persons could be induced to settle within the bounds of the colony. But to effect this, has hitherto proved a work of extreme difficulty. It must be admitted, indeed, that the weak state of the colony, during the first thirteen or fourteen years of its establishment, the difficulties with which it had to contend, and the doubts which were entertained of its permanency, may have had a considerable effect in deterring free people from fixing themselves within it. They may have been afraid of being eventually left to bear the resentments of the native chiefs whom they had forsaken, when the strangers, to whom they had joined themselves, should no longer be able to afford them protection. The impediments which may have arisen from this cause may now be considered as removed. Yet there remain other reasons, which will probably be of sufficient weight to prevent free natives, at least for some time, from taking up their abode permanently within the colony. Their manners are very different from ours, and this difference will doubtless have some force in the decision. But the circumstance which, it is to be apprehended, will chiefly operate in inducing them to prefer their native village, with all its disadvantages, to an English settlement, is the strength of their superstition. An exemplification or two of this point will suffice.

The Africans, those excepted who have become Moham-medans, believe that their main protection against the various evils to which they are liable, is the power of their tutelary Demons; but they seem also to believe, that these Demons are either unable, or unwilling, to exercise their power within the colony. Whenever, therefore, they happen to be taken ill at the colony, they immediately quit it, and repair to their native village, in order to have the

benefit of the charms and incantations by which their Demons are to be propitiated. But those who had abandoned their chief, in order to become the subjects of another power, would probably incur a considerable risk in returning within his jurisdiction.

The belief in witchcraft is also general among the Africans, and most of the evils which befall them are attributed to the malign influence of witches. As witchcraft, however, is not recognized at the colony as a crime, and is therefore sure to escape both detection and punishment, they think that they should incur a tremendous risk by becoming permanently attached to such a settlement.

But though there may be little hope of inducing families of free Africans, at least for some time, to settle within the bounds of the colony, they may nevertheless be induced to send their children thither, in considerable numbers, for education. The more intelligent natives have manifested comparatively little reluctance to the adoption of such a proposal. In the course of time, therefore, great effects might be produced by an extensive plan of this kind, in the way of eradicating their prejudices, assimilating their manners to ours, detaching them from their native superstitions, and giving them a taste for the regularity, security, and comfort of civilized society. This plan, however, would necessarily be attended with very considerable expense, as African parents would not, with their present views, be found willing to contribute to the education, or even to the maintenance, of their children, while at school in the colony. It would also be liable to interruptions, from the interference of parents and friends living at a distance; and it must at least be slow in its progress. It ought, nevertheless, to meet with every possible encouragement.

One mode, which has been suggested of increasing the native population of the colony is, to hold out offers of protection and encouragement to all persons of servile condition who may take refuge there. But it seems to be a

sufficient objection to such a plan, that it would infallibly tend to produce jealousy and dislike in the minds of the African chiefs. It has not been thought right, indeed, in any case, to deliver up individuals who, having taken up their abode in the colony, were claimed merely on the ground of their being slaves; but great care has at the same time been taken to convince the natives, that the Government of the colony was far from holding out a temptation to slaves to desert their masters, beyond what was afforded by the very nature of British law, which forbids the violent constraint of any individual except by legal process.

Some increase of native population may doubtless be expected at the colony, from the confiscation of slave ships, under the Act abolishing the Slave Trade. It may prove considerable, but at the same time it may, and it is to be hoped will, prove very insignificant.

The method by which the native population of Sierra Leone might be most speedily and certainly enlarged (provided it was unobjectionable on other grounds, a point which will be considered hereafter), would be, to permit the colonists, under clear and well-defined regulations, to ransom Africans from a state of slavery, on condition that the persons so ransomed should, for a limited time, serve the persons who redeemed them in the capacity of *indented servants*. The ransom of an individual would cost from eight to ten pounds. If therefore a period of not more than seven years were fixed, during which the ransomed individuals should remain in the situation of indented servants, there would be a sufficient return in labour, for the money expended in redeeming them, to induce many of the colonists to avail themselves of this permission.

In Africa, as is well known, there now exist two species of servitude; the one arising from captivity in war, from kidnapping, from debt, or from the commission of certain crimes real or imaginary; the other being a kind of hereditary villeinage.

The abolition of the Slave Trade has undoubtedly removed much of the temptation which formerly existed to those wars, and other nefarious practices, by which that trade was supplied with its victims. And although it would be too much to expect, that wars should now entirely cease; or that the superstitious natives should not still dread the influence of witchcraft, and still persecute those suspected of it; yet it may fairly be presumed, that the number of slaves thus made will now be small. Certainly it ought to be the object of this Institution to discourage, by every means in its power, the continuance of such evils. It would, nevertheless, be difficult to say, that cases might not arise in which the redemption of the persons affected by them might not be a measure both of humanity and justice.

But supposing these sources of slavery no longer to have an existence, the state of what may be called villeinage will still be found to comprize a large proportion of the population of Africa.

The state of African villeinage, when it is compared with the slavery existing in our West-Indian islands, is certainly a very light species of bondage. The slaves in the West Indies are driven to their labour by the terror or impulse of the cart-whip: in Africa, no such compulsory methods are resorted to for extracting labour. In the West Indies, the slave possesses no civil rights whatever: the African grumetta, on the contrary, possesses many valuable privileges. In the West Indies the degradation of the slave to the lowest possible point of depression is visible to every eye: in Africa it is generally impossible to ascertain, without particular inquiry, who are in a free and who are in a servile condition. Various other points of difference might be specified, which raise the condition of the grumetta in Africa, in respect to comfort, infinitely above that of the slave in the West Indies.

Great evils, however, unquestionably exist in Africa; and these, it must also be allowed, affect grumettas in a

greater degree than any other class of the population. In consequence of the prevalence of polygamy, the women are often engrossed by the chiefs and other persons of free condition, while the grumettas are doomed to lead solitary lives. Much of their comfort must also necessarily depend on the disposition of their masters; and the effects of tyranny and oppression will doubtless be experienced in Africa, as in every other quarter of the globe. They will also continue to be subject to the various evils which are ever found to attend a state of barbarism and incivilization. Improvidence, and the consequent occurrence of scarcity; violence, and rapine, and insecurity, will still to a certain degree prevail there. And though these evils, it is to be hoped, will no longer be aggravated by the Slave Trade, yet if we suppose them to exist only in the degree in which they now exist in other barbarous countries—and, considering the habits which have prevailed in Africa, this is no extravagant supposition—then a variety of cases may be expected to arise, in which it would be mercy to the grumetta to extricate him from his present situation, and place him as an indentured servant in a British settlement.

In such cases, the redemption of the grumetta, without any view of prospective advantage, would undoubtedly be a generous act: but it would be of little real benefit to him, if he were immediately abandoned by the person who had ransomed him, and were not taught to use his freedom for the benefit of himself and of the society to which he belonged. No hope, however, can be formed, that the charity of individuals would operate very extensively in this way. It is on this account necessary to make it their interest to pursue the method which has been pointed out of ameliorating the condition of the African grumetta, at the same time that their power of injuring him is carefully circumscribed by strict and clear regulations.

These regulations might be of the following kind.

1. That the Government of the colony shall be the guar-



dians of the ransomed individuals, and parties to their indentures.

2. That the longest period during which any person, of fourteen years of age or upwards, should be indentured, shall be seven years. If under fourteen, the term may be lengthened, so as that the indenture shall expire when the persons indentured have attained the age of twenty-one.
3. That one hour, at least, in each day, shall be allotted for the attendance of all indentured servants at school, with a view to their instruction in reading and writing, and in the principles of the Christian Religion; and that they shall attend public worship on the Sundays.
4. That, with the exception of the hour above-mentioned, which is to be employed in school, the hours of labour for indentured servants shall be the same with those which are established for the labouring part of the colonists.
5. That the testimony of indentured servants shall be placed on precisely the same footing with that of the other colonists.
6. That the Magistrates of the colony shall be bound to receive, and shall be empowered to investigate summarily, all complaints preferred by indentured servants against their masters.
7. That masters shall have no power to inflict corporal punishment on their indentured servants; but that, in case of contumacy or neglect of duty, the Magistrate shall have the power of punishing, by imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence.
8. That indentured servants, who shall voluntarily desert their masters' service, may, by course of law, be obliged to serve for a proportionable period after the termination of their indentures.
9. That the date and cost of each person's redemption, and the particulars of his indenture, shall be regu-

larly entered in a public Register, to be kept for that purpose.

10. That indented servants shall be allowed, at any period of their servitude, to dissolve the contract between them and their masters, on paying a certain sum, proportioned to the length of time which is to run before the expiration of their indentures.
11. That those who shall either have thus shortened the period of their service, or who shall have completed the full term of it, shall be entitled to receive from Government, on favourable terms, a certain portion of land for cultivation on their own account.
12. That indented servants shall be encouraged to acquire a competent skill in reading and writing English, and their masters be induced to afford them the requisite facilities for that purpose, by a prospect of certain advantages to be suspended on such proficiency.
13. That periodical and personal inspections of all indented servants shall be made by persons authorized for that purpose, who shall examine whether such servants be properly fed, clothed, and lodged, and whether the regulations be properly observed: who shall hear and investigate all matters of complaint; and who shall make a regular report of their proceedings to Government.
14. That masters guilty of maltreating an indented servant may be deprived of the future services of such servant, on proof of the fact.
15. That no person, who is afterwards to be indented, shall be ransomed, unless his own consent has been obtained; and until he shall have been apprized of the nature, the rights, and the duties, of the new situation into which he is to be removed.

These regulations would doubtless require various modifications and limitations, in order to render them practically

beneficial. The object of the present paper is ~~merely~~ to give the Directors a general view of the subject.

Supposing such a plan as has been proposed to be adopted, measures should be taken to produce, as far as may be practicable, an equality of the sexes. It would also naturally become the care of Government, or, if not of Government, of the African Institution, to provide appropriate means of instruction for the persons thus ransomed and brought within the sphere of their influence.

It will now be proper briefly to advert to the advantages which have been expected to flow from the adoption of the proposed plan.

1. *It would tend to the gradual abolition of slavery in Africa.*—Any direct measure for abolishing slavery would naturally alarm the fears of the African chiefs; who would universally regard it as of evil example, and as tending to the overthrow of their institutions. The proposed plan would in fact be availing ourselves of those institutions, for the introduction of a better system. It would, so to speak, be a constitutional mode of abolishing slavery.

2. *The civilization of Africa in general, no less than the improvement and happiness of the individuals who should thus become subjects of the British Government, would be greatly promoted.*—To say nothing of the degree in which life might be preserved and population advanced, and general security and comfort increased, in consequence of the superiority of our political institutions, of our medical skill, &c., it is obvious, that if education be a blessing to mankind, then those who should be redeemed and indentured in the way that has been proposed, would be greatly benefited by the change, which, while it improved their condition in other respects, placed them in a situation to enjoy that blessing. The adults might prove indeed, in many instances, to be very unsup scholars; but we might look forward to their children with hope, and might fairly expect that they at least, if not their parents, would form a people far advanced in civilization as any peasantry in Europe.

Nor would this happy effect be necessarily confined within the limits of the British jurisdiction. The means of communicating some portion of the same light and knowledge to the neighbouring nations of Africa, would be rapidly multiplied. Teachers might be trained, in considerable numbers, who returning, after a few years' absence, to their own country, instructed in letters, in agriculture, and other useful arts; carrying with them also just ideas on many points connected with social improvement; would gradually enlarge the sphere of civilization, until it embraced the whole of the African Continent.

3. It would be wrong to omit, in an enumeration of the advantages which would result both to individuals, and to Africa generally, from the adoption of the present plan, *the wider diffusion of the benign light of Christianity.*—This, though a collateral, would nevertheless be by far its most important effect. On a benefit, however, so obvious and acknowledged, it is needless to enlarge.

4. *Journeys of discovery would be undertaken with greater facility and advantage*, when natives of the countries to be visited, who should have acquired a knowledge of the English language, and of other useful arts, might be procured to accompany the expedition.

5. *The colony of Sierra Leone would obtain a regular supply of labourers*, the want of which has hitherto greatly retarded its progress.—It has frequently happened, that after a considerable space of ground has been cleared and planted by means of hired labourers, some dispute with a native chief has occasioned the sudden departure of all those labourers; and the consequence has been the ruin of the new plantation. This has been a great discouragement to cultivation. It seems hardly necessary to advert to the close connection there is between the regular and uninterrupted progress of agriculture within the colony, and its extension in the neighbouring districts of Africa; and between these effects and the enlargement of our trade with that country; being a point already sufficiently obvious.

**6. *The strength of the colony would rapidly increase.*—**

This effect, indeed, is not merely conjectural; it is matter of experience. In the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, there are several individuals who have raised themselves into power and consequence, by pursuing a plan similar in many respects to that now suggested. And in such cases: slaves, converted into grumettas, have manifested the most: unshaken fidelity to the interests of their masters, and have been ready to sacrifice their lives in their service. The present plan, however, would have a great superiority over every preceding example of a similar kind, in this; that, instead of a perpetual and hereditary though mitigated bondage, an apprenticeship for a few years would be substituted, chiefly with a view to the benefit of the apprentice, which would terminate in his introduction to all the blessings of British law and British liberty. When the settlement had thus become powerful, numbers of free people might be induced to flock thither; and a refuge might also, perhaps, be safely offered to all who might be suffering from oppression in neighbouring countries.

7. Though the colony of Sierra Leone alone has been adverted to, in the course of this paper, as the place for carrying the present proposal into effect, yet if on examination it were approved, it might be extended to the other British settlements on the coast. Indeed, settlements on such a plan might be indefinitely multiplied.

8. Should the plan succeed, it might have a considerable effect in improving the state of slavery in the West Indies. —But on this part of the subject I will not enter.

It now only remains, to consider the objections which are likely to be made to the proposed plan.

1. "It would occasion a violent outcry, if the same persons who have been instrumental in effecting the abolition of the Slave Trade should sanction a plan which might be confounded with that trade."

If, however, the two things be radically different, and I will for the present assume that they are; and if the pro-

posed plan, instead of repeating the evils caused by the Slave Trade, tend to an effectual and rapid cure of those evils, a point which I will also assume; then to be deterred from its adoption by a fear of the odium which prejudice or misrepresentation may labour to attach to it, would hardly be justifiable. If I am right in my assumptions, undoubtedly the difference may be made so palpable as to be evident to all whom it would be of importance to convince.

2. "However the proposition may be disguised," it will probably be further objected, "what is it, in fact, but purchasing human beings, and placing them under constraint for the benefit of the purchaser?"

But may human beings in no case be *purchased*, without a violation of right? No man, if he could redeem a son or a brother from the hands of Algerine pirates, would hesitate to do so. Nor should we blame another for advancing money to redeem an Algerine captive, on a promise from that captive to repay the debt, as if the transaction were unjust or inhuman. With respect to the constraint under which the persons in question would be placed; it is found, even in this free country, that such constraint is in many instances unavoidable. It forms a main ingredient in every indenture of apprenticeship. The very Act which abolishes the Slave Trade recognises the propriety of a similar constraint, in the case of those Negroes who, being condemned as prize under that Act, are afterwards to be placed out as apprentices, with a view to their own benefit. One of the regulations suggested in the preceding pages, is, that no person should be ransomed, with a view to his becoming an indented servant, without his own consent. The transaction, therefore, would take the character of a fair contract for labour, by which the contracting parties would be mutually bound to each other. And by another regulation a power is reserved to the indented servant of putting an end to this contract, and recovering the entire right to his own labour, by repaying the price which his master originally paid for it, or such proportion of that price as may be equi-

valent for the period of his servitude which is yet unexpired.

3. "But masters," it is alleged, "would be apt to abuse their power."—The same objection, however, applies to the case of apprenticeships in England, as well as of apprenticeships under the Slave Trade Act. The question is, whether it would not be possible, by adopting such regulations as have been proposed, or others which may be suggested, to prevent the abuse of power on the part of masters, or at least to insure its punishment whenever it occurred.

4. But the most formidable objection still remains to be stated. "Would not the proposed plan have the effect of inciting practices similar to those by which the Slave Trade has been upheld? In a country circumstanced as Africa is, is there not reason to fear that, if purchasers can be found, slaves will be made; and that the adoption of the plan, though intended merely to transfer to other hands those who are already in a state of slavery, with a view to their liberation, will have the effect of reducing others to slavery, in order to supply their place, and perhaps again to be sold for indentured servants? So that as far as the African branch of the Slave Trade has proved a source of evil, that evil will be perpetuated by the proposed system."

This objection is, unquestionably, a very formidable one, and, if well-founded, must greatly outweigh all the advantages which have been expected from the measure under consideration. In that case, we should be doing certain and present evil, on a probable speculation of future good. Whether such regulations can be framed as will obviate this danger, I will not pretend to say. None that appear to be adequate have occurred to my own mind. But the subject merits the consideration of the Directors.

Before I conclude, it may be proper to explain the reasons which have induced me, while so strong a doubt exists in my own mind respecting the measure in question, to bring it before the Directors. My reasons were these:

Many warm friends of African civilization, who possess extensive local knowledge, have been strongly impressed with an idea of the benefit which would result both to Africa and great Britain, from pursuing the line of policy which has been suggested; and there is a great probability that that line of policy will be recommended by them to Government. I was anxious, therefore, that the matter should be fully considered beforehand by the Directors, and that the arguments on both sides should be placed fairly before them. I am aware, indeed, that it would not be within the province of the Institution, either to hold indentured servants themselves, or to authorise others to hold them, or to frame or carry into effect regulations respecting them. It nevertheless seemed important that the Directors should have an opportunity of forming a sound opinion on a proposition which so materially affects the interests of the African race, and on which they may perhaps be called in so long time to express their sentiments.

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## II.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ., TO T. LUDLAM, ESQ., DATED LONDON, FEB. 26, 1807, AND MARKED "PRIVATE."

My dear Sir,

Every moment of my time has been so fully occupied by the Slave Trade question, which you will feel to be one materially affecting our Colony, and by our Sierra Leone Bill, which is now in its passage through the House of Commons, that I have found it difficult to redeem the pledge which I gave you of writing more fully by the Andersons.

On the 23d, the principle of the Abolition Bill was debated in the House of Commons; when, after a discussion



protracted till four in the morning, it was carried by a majority of 253, to 16. A majority so triumphant, so much beyond all previous hope, leaves no doubt of the final passing of the Bill.

I have already suggested, and the suggestion, I trust, will be immediately adopted, to send out a ship of war to apprise the whole length of coast of the passing of this Bill, the moment it shall have passed; and another, to be stationed for a time at Sierra Leone, to obviate the effects of any exasperation which the measure may occasion. I have likewise suggested, and this suggestion also, I trust, will be carried into effect, the great advantage which must result with a view to the due execution of the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade, from erecting a Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone. The Slaves taken under the Act, will be at the disposal of his Majesty, who is to provide suitably for them as free men. It has occurred to us, that with respect to those taken on the coast, the best plan would be, to establish them at Sierra Leone, under some system which should embrace their useful employment in cultivation, and their civilization; some such system as that on which our friend Brunton proposed to establish his school of industry, in the mountains of Sierra Leone.

We are all exceedingly anxious that you should apply your local knowledge, and the powers of your mind, to the object of framing plans which may secure to Africa the benefits of which she is now susceptible, and which may serve to obviate any partial evil effects which may be anticipated from the final stoppage of the Slave Trade. As America and Great Britain unite in carrying this great measure into full effect on the very same day: as France, Spain, and Holland are now precluded from all possibility of occupying the vacant ground which will be left: as Denmark has abolished, and Sweden and Russia never engaged in it, (Portugal being now the only state which can carry it on) a prospect is opened of being able to do much, particularly should the war be greatly prolonged, towards breaking the

slave-trading habits of Africa, and leading the chiefs to some other means of procuring European goods, such as the cultivation of the soil, &c. I am by no means disposed to regard the attainment of this great object as likely to be effected without great efforts, and encountering many difficulties. But the efforts ought to be made, and the difficulties encountered, were it only to atone in some measure to Africa for our long-continued oppressions and cruelty. Considering the immense field which is now opened in that country for the exertions of enlightened benevolence, I cannot but hope, that, even should you quit the government of the colony, you will still continue your care for Africa;—a care which, I trust, the new circumstances in which she will be placed will render much more efficacious than it has hitherto been, and which will find its ample reward in the growing civilization of that continent. At all events, I trust you will see, that, provided your health will admit of your somewhat prolonging your residence in Africa, the present moment is one which it may be in your power to improve in a variety of ways.

What has suggested itself to me as desirable to be done, I will now state in a few words.

1. To appoint a Board which shall confine its attention entirely to Africa, and which shall comprise a few of those individuals, as Mr. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c., who have interested themselves about Africa.

2. To place under the management of this Board not only Sierra Leone, but Goree, and all the Forts on the Gold Coast.

3. To station at different parts of the continent, from the River Gambia to Angola, intelligent persons, under the name of Consuls, or any other name which may be preferred (perhaps about a dozen), with adequate appointments; whose business it shall be to procure accurate information respecting the neighbourhood and the interior countries, and to embrace every favourable opportunity of improving the British interests in Africa, either by making

treaties with the native powers, or by introducing among them persons who may instruct them in useful arts, and, particularly, who may set them an example of profitable industry. Such a person might do much in opening the eyes of the Africans to their true interests, and pointing out to them the channels into which their industry might be advantageously directed.

4. The colony of Sierra Leone might also be made extremely instrumental in promoting the same objects : for not only might the example of profitable cultivation be there given, both by the present colonists and by European adventurers ; but a school of industry might be instituted (as has been already mentioned), in which African youths might be instructed, both in letters and in agriculture, and the arts connected with agriculture, and might go forth thence to different parts of the coast, in order to communicate to others the knowledge they had themselves acquired.

5. Indigo is, at present, one of the most profitable articles of tropical culture. Almost all which is used in Europe is brought from India, of course at a much larger expense than that at which it might be brought from Africa. This is an article, therefore, to which the attention both of our colonists and the natives might be turned. It is easy both of culture and manufacture.

6. With the culture of cotton, the natives are already to a certain degree acquainted : what would be wanted here, would be to introduce among them, gradually, a better kind of cotton, and to instruct them in the modes of cleaning it which are in use in other parts of the world.

7. Of coffee I need say nothing, because attention has been already drawn to that article, both within and without the colony.

Many other articles might be mentioned, which in the course of time may fairly become objects of culture. I have only mentioned those to the production of which labour might almost immediately be advantageously applied.

8. The rearing of bees might be an object deserving attention, with a view to the wax.

9. It seems highly important that a ready market should be furnished to the Africans for the rice they may raise; and yet I fear that the red rice will never find a sale out of Africa. Would it not be possible to induce the natives to cultivate exclusively the white rice, for which, if properly cleaned, it might be possible to obtain a market in the West Indies, or even in England?

10. The manufacture of salt for supplying the interior might furnish employment for many persons on the coast, and would prove a valuable article of commerce.

11. I say nothing here of the means which may be adopted for conveying the knowledge of letters and the light of Christian truth to different parts of the coast. That, indeed, is a large and important branch of the subject, and one which it will be impossible to carry very suddenly into effect.

I have confined myself to the enumeration of those means which may be suggested to the native chiefs, and which self-interest may make them willing to adopt, for obviating the inconvenience which may arise from the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and for exciting that spirit of industry among them which is the best ground-work of civilization.

I have thus put down, in a hurried way, what has occurred to me as necessary to be thought of at the present moment. I have said all that has occurred to me, not from any idea that the same things, in as far as they merit consideration, have not occurred to you, but from a wish to put you in possession of what has been passing in my own mind. I have put my thoughts down, not as things which are immediately reducible into act, but as subjects for mature deliberation both here and in Africa.

I ever am, my dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

## III.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY THORNTON, ESQ. TO GOVERNOR LUDLAM, OR THE ACTING GOVERNOR, SIERRA LEONE, DATED FEBRUARY 7, 1807.

WE have now to announce to you the important event of a division in the House of Lords, which may be considered as indubitably shewing that the Slave Trade is on the point of being abolished.

On Monday next Lord Temple is to move, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a Bill to transfer the civil and military authority of the Colony of Sierra Leone into the hands of Government.

We now approach, therefore, a new era, in respect to African affairs; and the magnitude of the subject is such, that I am fearful of saying any thing very specific antecedently to a general consultation, which I am desirous of having, with those who most interest themselves in the welfare of the African continent.

The more I think on the measure of transferring our settlement into the hands of Government, the more am I persuaded that, especially under the auspices of the present Secretary of State (Mr. Windham), there will be danger of a degree of inattention which may lead to material error in the management; not to mention other circumstances which may aggravate the evil, such as general coolness; or even prejudice, in respect to the African cause, and a desire of providing for persons whom there is no opportunity of serving in this country. I feel, therefore, a strong desire to see some measures instituted which may contribute to place in the hands of zealous and proper persons

the general direction of the British concerns in Africa; and we shall, of course, be glad to receive from you all possible light on every part of that extensive and now most interesting subject.

We are much obliged to you for the fulness of the details in some of your last communications; and I now trust that you and we shall not repent, at the close of our lives, of the sacrifices (very different, indeed, both in kind and degree) which we have respectively made with a view to the interests of the Black part of our species.

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#### IV.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ. TO THOMAS LUDLAM, ESQ. DATED LONDON, NOVEMBER 4, 1807, AND ENDORSED SECRET.

My dear Sir,

A WORD in private respecting the African Institution. I cannot help regarding it as an important engine. We have many zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence, who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can be done both for the colony and for Africa. Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly. Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more immediately lies, is good-humoured and complying; but his secretary, Mr. Cooke, is, I fear, hostile to the whole thing, and may be disposed to seize any circumstance which will put it in his power to do us mischief. You will see how very important it is to be aware of this in your communications with Government. Indeed, in all the *ostensible* letters you write, whether to Lord Castlereagh, the African Institution, or myself, it will be right to consider the *effect* of what you say on lukewarm friends, and in the

hands of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix with us. In such hands there are truths which will be made to produce all the effect of falsehood; and, instead of being used, as they ought to be, as a spur, will be employed as checks to all exertion. I cannot mean, of course, that you should in any degree varnish your representations. I merely mean, that you should not *unnecessarily* discourage the exertions of benevolence. People who do not know you, will suppose the case to be desperate where you seem to doubt; and your testimony, if convertible to an adverse purpose, would be formidable. Your own mind will suggest to you the guards, limitations, and exceptions with which what I now say should be received.

I have no doubt that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them, with respect to Africa, provided we will but save them the trouble of thinking. This you will see to be highly important.

I have one remark to make, which you will see to apply to much of what I have written to you by this conveyance. I am writing, not for myself, but for others; and am therefore obliged to propose topics of consideration to you, which but for this circumstance I myself might have deemed superfluous, and might have saved you the trouble of answering. But if I had time, I could give you several reasons why the same truths will do more good coming from you than from me.

I ever am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly, &c.

# V.

## ON THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING A COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA AND THE RIVER NIGER,

ADDRESSED TO LORD HOBART, THEN ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.

IN considering the best channel of intercourse between the Western Coast of Africa and the Niger, our attention is naturally drawn, in the first instance, to the larger rivers.

1st. *The Senegal*.—That the Senegal affords a greater facility of water communication with the Niger, than any other river which empties itself into the Atlantic, is evident from a view of the best maps. If the maps may be trusted, the heads of these two rivers are not distant from each other above 80 miles; and from Mr. Parke's Travels we learn that the Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, approaches within about half that distance of Kaniaba, on the Niger. The possession, however, of Fort St. Louis, by the French, renders the Senegal necessarily inaccessible to English commerce.

2d. *The Gambia*.—The Gambia, though it does not approach so near the Niger as the Senegal does, and is therefore, upon the whole, a less advantageous point of intercourse, yet possesses a superiority in some material respects. It is more easy of access, and it is also navigable by ships of large burden to a greater extent from its entrance. If the information which I received upon the spot be correct, vessels drawing seven or eight feet of water may approach very near to the Falls of Barraconda. But, still, the distance from the falls of Barraconda to Kaniaba, the nearest point on the river Niger, is about 500 English



miles; a length of land carriage very unfavourable to a regular trade.

The Gambia flows through an extensive and fertile region, and affords immense facilities of water carriage in a variety of directions. Its importance, therefore, in a commercial point of view, if at any future period the productions of Africa, or the cultivation of its soil should become an object of general attention, is unquestionable; and as its entrance is completely commanded by the little island on which James's Fort formerly stood, it may deserve the consideration of Government whether that post ought not to be occupied. The possession of it would be desirable, not only in the anticipation, however distant, of the future improvement of Africa, but with a view to the exclusion, at least to the counteraction, of the French interest in the Gambia; a quarter in which, from the vicinity of Goree, it is otherwise likely to become paramount, and in which also an extensive field is opened for the vigorous prosecution of any schemes of colonization which they may be meditating.

The width of the river, I apprehend, renders any intermediate post, for the security of trade, between James's Island and Junkakonda, unnecessary: such posts, however, may be useful for the purpose of extending the British influence. Whether one or more posts could be secured above Junkakonda, at Pisania, Fatatenda, or Barraconda, is a point on which I am not competent to give an opinion, and which, perhaps, can only be ascertained on the spot.

Whatever may be the final determination of Government with respect to the Gambia, I would venture to recommend, as a measure likely to compensate the trouble and expense attending it, that a confidential and intelligent person should be fixed as high up in the river Gambia as he could securely reside; who should be employed in procuring accurate information respecting the neighbouring and interior countries, and in embracing every favourable opportunity of improving the British interests in that quarter,

either by making purchases of land, or by entering into treaties with the native powers. Such a person ought to be master of the Arabic language, which would give him great ascendancy among the natives. He ought also to acquire, as soon as possible, a knowledge of the Mandingo and Susoo languages. This last might be easily learnt; a grammar and vocabulary, together with some other books, having been already printed in that language, and there being also in this country persons capable of speaking it with facility.

It appears to me the more important to lose no time in taking measures for the acquisition of an influence in the Gambia, as the gradual extension of Mohammedanism, by means of schools of Arabic literature, in the neighbourhood of that river, is yearly giving consolidation to the power of the native chiefs, while it generates, by the force of superstition, a dislike to the Christian name. In the present state of the nations bordering on the Gambia, a very wide toleration of all religions is to be expected; but when the transit from Paganism to Mohammedanism, which has been gradually progressive for a great length of time, shall have been completed, they are likely to become far more in-

\* The Susoo is spoken at no great distance from Sierra Leone, and I had apprehended that it was very limited in its use; but on reading Mr. Parke's Travels my views of it were entirely changed, and I deemed the cultivation of it an object of the first consequence. The passage in Mr. Parke to which I allude is at the 337th page, where he states that the language of the people of Manna is the same that is spoken all over the extensive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo. The numerals, however, of the Jallonkadoo are literally the same with those of the Susoos; a coincidence which could not have happened unless the languages were also the same.

It is worthy of observation, that the Niger, for a considerable part of its course, runs through this country of Jallonkadoo, the language of which has now been systematized and reduced to writing by the efforts of Mr. Brunton, assisted by some Susoo boys now educating at the African Academy at Clapham.

tolerant of any diversity of religious creed, and far more jealous of the introduction of strangers, than at present.

3d. *The Rio Grande*.—The next channel of communication which I shall consider, is the Rio Grande. This river has been very little explored. It is known, however, to be navigable as high as Belola, about 72 miles from its entrance, by vessels of about 50 or 60 tons burthen. There are no means of forming a very precise opinion how much farther it may be navigated, though there is considerable ground to suppose that boats, drawing not more than two or three feet water, might be conveyed at least sixty or seventy miles above Belola. The Dunso, which Mr. Watt crossed in his way to Teemboo, is supposed, and not without reason, to be a continuation of the Rio Grande. The point at which it intersects his route is about 120 miles from Belola, in a direct line; but there, though it appeared a fine smooth gliding stream, it was not of a sufficient depth to receive any but small boats.

The distance from Belola, the farthest extremity of British navigation in the Rio Grande, to Sankari, the supposed head of the Niger, is about 450 miles; and if we suppose the Rio Grande navigable for fifty miles farther, the distance will be reduced to 400 miles.

The mouth of this river is in a great degree commanded by the island of Bulama, on which a British settlement was some years ago attempted to be formed. The French had twice begun a settlement upon it before, and upon this circumstance they found a prior claim.

The greatest objection in my mind to an establishment on this island arises from the intricacy of the navigation around it, which renders it dangerous even for small vessels. Sunken rocks, breakers, and sand-banks, are strewed about in great profusion for about sixty miles from it towards the sea; so that the hazard to vessels of a large size, sailing to and from it, is very considerable. The difficulty of the navigation may no doubt be lessened, if not

removed, by a careful survey; but in the mean time it constitutes a very formidable objection to making Bulama the central point of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the interior of Africa.

Some of the islands in the neighbourhood of Bulama are occupied by a very ferocious set of people: and the natives inhabiting the southern bank of the Rio Grande are also savage and untractable; though this is by no means the case with those on the northern bank. Such of the natives, however, as would be disposed to disturb the settlement, might be kept in awe by a fort and a small military force.

The island of Bulama is low, and in some places swampy, and is thought to be unhealthy. But should a settlement be formed upon it, the cultivation of the lands will no doubt promote its salubrity. It is a disadvantageous circumstance that the most eligible place for a principal station is on the leeward side of the island; so that the sea breeze, so essential to health in that part of the world, cannot have free access to it until a great part of the woods are cleared. It possesses, however, the advantage of a very fertile soil, and a fine harbour; and it is situated in the vicinity of countries which abound in cattle and provisions.

4th. *The Rio Nunez*.—The Rio Nunez is, perhaps, as desirable a channel of intercourse with the interior as the Rio Grande, if we may suppose the latter not to be navigable many miles above Belola. The Rio Nunez is navigable, by vessels of 250 tons burthen, as high as Kakundy, which lies about 30 or 40 miles of longitude east of Belola. The communication, at least as far as Teemboo, has been already opened in that direction; and as no nation intervenes between the people of Kakundy and the Foulahs, less risk of obstruction is incurred.

5th. *The Rio Pongas*.—The distance from the upper part of the Rio Pongas to Teemboo is not so great, by 40 or 50 miles, as from Kakundy to that place; but the journey is attended with more danger, there being several indepen-

dent tribes of Susoos in the way, who are very apt to plunder the coffes, and seize and reduce to slavery the individuals composing them, whenever a fair opportunity occurs.

6th. *Kissey*.—A similar disadvantage renders the road from Kissey to Teemboo less frequented than that from the Rio Nunez.

Kissey is inhabited by a colony of Mandingoes, who have extended themselves in its neighbourhood, by the institution of schools and the gradual diffusion of the Mohammedan religion, so as to have become the most powerful community in that quarter. These Mandingoes are much more civilized than their neighbours, and strangers would be secure under their protection; but I apprehend that they would not be easily induced to consent to any establishment whereby strangers should obtain the smallest degree of independence.

It seldom happens that the Susoos, who inhabit the space between these Mandingoes and the Foulah country, are not engaged in a dispute with one or other of their neighbours, which renders travelling unsafe; and even if peace should be made, it seldom lasts long: the roads continue to be infested by freebooters, whose excesses soon lead to farther disputes.

The navigation of the Kissey is difficult for large vessels.

7th. *Mesurado*.—The river Mesurado, if we may trust to African maps, is that which approaches the nearest to the Niger, seeming to issue from the opposite side of the same ridge of mountains.

The entrance into this river is rendered very difficult for vessels of more than thirty tons burthen, by a dangerous bar, which crosses its mouth.

The natives assert, that the river is navigable, by canoes, to a great height: nor did any of them, with whom I have conversed, seem to know where it ceased to be navigable: I have not, however, been disposed to give much credit to their representations, or to the accuracy of the maps, with respect to the length of this river. At six or eight miles

from its mouth, which was the farthest point to which my own observation extended, the stream, though deep and gentle, was not more than 100 or 150 yards across; a circumstance which seems to render it improbable that its course should be so long as it is said to be.

Cape Mesurado, which commands the mouth of this river, is a most favourable position for a settlement, being dry, elevated, and commanding.

There is at present, in the river Mesurado, about two miles from its mouth, an English factory; by the aid of which it might be practicable for a flat-bottomed boat, armed with a couple of swivels, and having an awning for the people, to explore the river, in the course of a few days, as far as there is any likelihood of its being navigable.

The direct distance from Cape Mesurado to Sankari, the supposed source of the Niger, is about 360 miles. If the river Mesurado be really navigable by boats to the extent which is commonly reported, it would considerably diminish that distance; but it is to be observed, that there is perhaps no part of Africa less known than that which lies between Cape Mesurado and Sankari.

8. *Sierra Leone*.—The only channel of communication which remains to be particularly considered, is the river Sierra Leone. This river is navigable about fifty miles above the Company's settlement, to a place called Port Logo. The distance from Port-Logo to Teemboo, is about 120 miles; and from Teemboo to Sankari, the supposed source of the Niger, about 250; in all, 370 miles.

There is therefore no reason, on account of their greater proximity to the Niger, for preferring either the Gambia or the Rio Grande as channels of communication, to the Sierra Leone; which is also recommended by other considerations, such as the establishment of a British colony and the erection of a British fort at the entrance of the river, the security of the harbour of Sierra Leone, its many conveniences, the facility with which it may be approached by vessels of the largest size, and the assistance which would

necessarily be derived, from the vicinity of so large an establishment, in the prosecution of schemes of discovery or trade.

Between Port Logo and Teemboo, however, several nations, or rather tribes, intervene, which are very hostile to each other, and maintain a perpetual system of predatory warfare. But the chief impediment arises from the contrariety of interest prevailing among the Europeans in the river Sierra Leone. The large slave factory of Bance Island, which lies between Freetown and Port Logo, would regard with distrust, and probably oppose, any attempts which the Sierra Leone Company might make to open an intercourse with the interior in that quarter;—a consideration which has hitherto deterred the Company's servants from prosecuting their inquiries in that direction, notwithstanding its many recommendations.

This divided state of the British interest is not only unfavourable to the progress of discovery, and the consequent extension of commerce, but it would give the French a great advantage in any efforts which they might make to establish themselves at Sierra Leone. If, however, an effectual remedy could be applied to it, I should have little doubt that Sierra Leone would prove fully as practicable a channel of intercourse with the Niger, as any which has been mentioned, excepting the Senegal.

At whatever point the establishment of intercourse between the Niger and the coast is attempted, great difficulties must be encountered. The intervening space is little known; its inhabitants are apt to view with jealousy the progress of strangers; the climate is unfavourable to European life; and, above all, a state of insecurity, with respect both to person and property, prevails throughout the whole of the Western coast of Africa, which is particularly unfriendly to the establishment of a regular and beneficial traffic.

## VI.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ. ADDRESSED  
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT CAS-  
TLEREAGH, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL  
SECRETARIES OF STATE, DATED LONDON,  
MAY 8, 1807.

My Lord,

UNDERSTANDING that a ship of war will soon sail for the African coast, and Mr. H. Thornton being occupied with his election, I take the liberty of addressing your Lordship on the general subject of African affairs. I am encouraged to do this by the desire which your Lordship has expressed of obtaining information respecting that country.

The British settlements in Africa form at present a very loose and disjointed whole, subjected to great diversity of management, and pursuing ends which widely differ from each other. Goree is a military government, immediately under the direction of his Majesty. Sierra Leone is at present governed by the Sierra Leone Company, by the authority of a Charter of Justice obtained from the King. Bance Island, a fortified settlement in the same river, is the property of Messrs. J. and A. Anderson of London, who hold it by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in the year of the reign of                      cap.                      who have hitherto used it as a slave factory. The forts on the Gold Coast, seven or eight in number, are in the hands of the African Company, who receive annually from Parliament the sums required for their maintenance, and who continue a company for the sole purpose of managing these forts, which were originally constructed, and have hitherto been supported, for the protection and encouragement of the Slave Trade.

With a view both to the British interests in Africa, and



to the improvement of Africa itself, it appears to deserve consideration whether these establishments, as well as any other which may hereafter be formed in Africa, should not be taken under the immediate government of his Majesty. Otherwise it is not likely that any uniform plan of policy can be pursued with respect to that country, nor any liberal and concurrent efforts made to amend the condition of its inhabitants. It will also in that case naturally become a question, whether the different settlements on the coast of Africa should be independent of each other, and subject only to the direct controul of his Majesty's Government at home; or whether a presidency should be established at one of those settlements, under the general controul and direction of which the others might be placed. Supposing the latter, which seems the better plan to be adopted, I should entertain no doubt, for reasons not now necessary to be specified, that Sierra Leone is the best situation for such a presidency.

But whether the plan of uniting all our African settlements under the government of his Majesty be adopted or not, it appears to me that some steps might be taken at the present moment which would be attended with advantage both to Africa and Great Britain. To these I will now take the liberty of briefly adverting, holding myself ready to furnish your Lordship with more detailed information, should your Lordship require it.

It appears to be, in the first place, desirable, that, for the course of the next year or two, vessels of war should be stationed at different parts of the African coast (viz. at Sierra Leone, Goree, and the Gold Coast), with a view both of giving effect to the provisions of the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade, and for other purposes of considerable moment. The Commanders of his Majesty's ships are almost universally regarded with respect and deference by the native chiefs on the coast of Africa. Being recognized as the representatives and accredited agents of his Majesty, they naturally possess a very considerable influence among those chiefs.

If such naval commanders, therefore, as visit the coast of Africa, were directed to convey to the chiefs, with whom they may have an opportunity of communicating, favourable views of the principles which have guided the British Legislature in abolishing the Slave Trade, and to point out to them the various means within their reach of improving the condition of their country, their representations, I have little doubt, would produce a considerable and a very beneficial effect. And this is a remark which applies not only to the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, but to all the servants of Government who reside on the Coast, whether in a civil or military employment. Such persons might be instructed to attend to the following objects.

1. To procure and transmit to this country accurate information respecting the state of Africa, its commercial and agricultural capacities, and the social and civil condition of its inhabitants.

2. To embrace every opportunity of extending and improving the British influence in Africa; by making treaties with the native powers, which, where it should prove practicable, might comprise a recognition of the abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain, and an engagement mutually to discourage the continuance of that Trade; and by obtaining privileges and immunities in favour of British planters or traders who might settle among them.

3. To encourage and patronise every rational scheme for improving the condition of Africa, and particularly to favour the introduction of persons into that country who may be disposed to instruct the natives in useful arts, or who may set them an example of profitable cultivation.

4. To direct the attention of the British Slave Traders who now reside on the coast to the pursuit of agriculture, and of a trade in the natural productions of Africa.—And

5. To take every opportunity of pointing out to the African chiefs the various channels into which the industry of their people may be advantageously directed.

On this last point it will be necessary to be more specific.

The increase of the population and the comfort of the inhabitants, in any country, so obviously depend on the raising a regular supply of provisions of all kinds, such as grain, cattle, pigs, poultry, &c., that it may seem hardly necessary to recommend this object to the African chiefs: and yet I am persuaded that much may be done by such a recommendation. In particular, it appears important to point out to them the advantage which they would derive from cultivating generally the *white* instead of *red rice*, because in that case a vent might easily be obtained for their surplus produce of that article, either in Great Britain or in the West Indies; the former species being a marketable article, while the other, though equally useful as food, would not find a sale out of Africa.

The other articles of exportable produce, the cultivation of which seems to me the best adapted to the present state of Africa, are indigo, cotton, and coffee; and these might be recommended to the attention of the chiefs.

Indigo is one of the most profitable articles of tropical culture. Almost all which is now consumed in Europe is brought from the East Indies. The cultivation and manufacture of it may therefore be introduced with advantage into Africa.

With the cultivation of cotton the natives are already acquainted. What would chiefly be required with respect to this article, would be, to introduce among them the seeds of a better species of cotton than now grows generally in Africa, and to instruct them in expeditious methods of cleaning it.

A very good species of coffee was discovered to grow wild at Sierra Leone, and has since been cultivated there. From this place seeds and plants of that production might be easily conveyed to other parts of the coast.

The rearing of bees, with a view to the wax, and the manufacture of salt (an article much in demand in the interior of Africa), might be pointed out as profitable modes

of industry. Both are now practised on the coast, and would only require to be extended.

In Africa there are also several different kinds of timber proper for the use of the cabinet-maker and the shipwright: these might be imported into this country, and might therefore furnish the means of employing a part of the labour of Africa, were it not that the duties charged on unrated woods, on their importation into this country, are so high as to amount almost to a prohibition. But perhaps such a reduction of these duties might be obtained as would place the unrated woods of Africa on a footing with the rated woods of other countries.

I have already expressed an opinion, that the settlement of Sierra Leone is better calculated than any other for the presidency of the African coast. Its local advantages are great, when compared either with Goree or Cape Coast Castle, without taking into account that Goree may be given up to France at a peace. The existence also of a colonial establishment at this place, together with the possession of a considerable extent of territory, will afford facilities for promoting the great objects of African civilization which are enjoyed in no other place on the coast, particularly as the circumstances which have hitherto chiefly impeded this object will be removed by the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the transfer of the Colony from the Company to Government.

The example, afforded by the Colony, of a mild but firm and well-ordered government, of rational liberty, and of secure and productive industry, would be of almost incalculable importance; while the influence which its growing strength and respectability, and its growing commercial importance, must give it over all the neighbouring chiefs, might be exerted in composing their differences and inducing them to pursue plans of peaceful industry.

Sierra Leone likewise affords peculiar facilities for the institution of schools, with a view to introduce knowledge and useful arts among the Africans. An agricultural semi-

nary, for the purpose of instructing the natives in the method of cultivating the different articles of tropical produce for which there is a demand in Europe, might in this view be rendered particularly useful.

The establishment of a Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone, is another measure which appears worthy of early consideration. The want of a Court possessing maritime jurisdiction on some part of the African coast, has long been felt as a serious evil. The appointment of such a judicature appears now to be doubly requisite; for, otherwise, all the vessels on or near the coast of Africa, which may be seized under the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade, must be carried to the West Indies for adjudication;—a course which must be attended with at least a very unnecessary protraction of the confinement on ship-board of the captured slaves. It would also be much easier to dispose of these at Sierra Leone, than it would be in the West Indies. The system of free labour being already established at Sierra Leone, the introduction of any number of Negroes into that colony, whether on the footing of free labourers, or as apprentices for a limited period, could be attended with none of those inconveniences which it is alleged would flow from it in our West-India Islands. A better chance would also be thus afforded for restoring many of the captured Slaves to their former connections; and many of them, after having enjoyed the benefit of instruction in agriculture and other useful arts at the Colony, might be advantageously employed in disseminating, in other parts of Africa, the knowledge which they had thus acquired.

The forts on the Gold Coast, if properly employed, might be made very important engines of promoting the mutual benefit of Great Britain and Africa. In addition to those which we already possess, it might be advisable to obtain possession of two or three Dutch forts, situated on the same coast, which, I apprehend, would be a work of very little difficulty. If this were effected, we should possess almost the entire controul of that line of coast which ex-

tends from Cape Three Points to the Rio Volta.—It is important here to remark, that at this moment the laws of this district of Africa are administered in a great degree by the Governors of these forts, who ordinarily proceed, in administering them, on the principles, not of British, but of African legislation: that is to say, the guilt of African criminals is tried, not by the received rules of evidence, but by the application of some ordeal, which is regarded, according to the effect which it produces, as decisive of guilt or innocence. Persons thus found guilty being liable to be sold as slaves, and the Governors of the forts being generally, slave traders, it may be presumed that some degree of abuse may have arisen from this source. It is obvious, however, that the power which has been thus employed, and that without being resisted, may be converted into an instrument of great good to Africa; and that the Governors who may now be appointed, being instructed to substitute equitable principles of law, and benevolent maxims of policy, in place of those which have grown up under the former system, may by that change alone operate a very considerable amelioration in the civil condition of the inhabitants of a part of the coast which extends from three to four hundred miles in length.

It may be proper to mention, that there are other parts of the coast, where the interference of his Majesty, at least in the capacity of an authoritative mediator, would be readily admitted; for example, in the country through which the river Sherbro and its numerous branches flow. It is admitted by the chiefs (who are united in a nominal confederacy, under a head, who is called the King of Sherbro), that, in consequence of some services conferred on them by the King of Great Britain, about the beginning of the last century, he was then formally acknowledged as their superior lord, and that he must still be considered as retaining all the rights which were conferred on him by this acknowledgment. In an attempt, which the Governor of Sierra Leone lately made, to put an end by treaty to a war which had continued

for some years to ravage and depopulate this district, he found himself greatly assisted in his endeavours by a reference to the relation in which they stand to his Majesty. Could he have shewn that he was fully armed with the King's authority, his mediation, he believed, would have been much more effectual : as it was, he prevailed on the contending parties to agree to a truce, which has been observed for the last two years without interruption.

It may be proper to add, that the river Sherbro waters one of the most fertile countries in Africa, where even sugarcane of an excellent quality is seen growing without culture. An island at the mouth of this river, called York Island, is a part of the possessions of the African Company, and may, of course, be considered as belonging in full right to his Majesty.

But, after all that has been said, it cannot be denied, that much of the success of any plan which may be pursued; with a view to benefit Africa, must depend on the degree in which the African Slave Trade may be generally suppressed. At the present moment, the Portuguese are the only nation actually engaged in this trade, who will be at liberty to carry it on after the termination of the current year. It can hardly, perhaps, be expected, that Portugal should relinquish entirely her share in the Slave Trade : might it not, however, be possible to induce that power to confine her share of the Slave Trade to the Eastern Coast, and the Coast of Angola? In fact, the Portuguese Slave Trade is already confined within these limits, with the exception only of two ships, which annually visit the settlement of Bissao, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and carry off thence a cargo of slaves. If the Portuguese could be induced to abandon this small part of their trade, the African coast, from the 20th degree of north latitude to the 4th or 5th degree of south latitude, would be entirely freed from the Slave Trade, at least during the continuance of the present war. The small number of slaves formerly taken from Bissao, would easily be supplied from Angola ; and

this without any aggravation of the trade on that part of the coast, when the extensive British Slave Trade, hitherto carried on there, shall have ceased. To give full effect to any such agreement with the Portuguese Government as has been alluded to, it would be highly desirable to obtain the cession to this country of the settlement of Bissao. To the Portuguese it is at present of very little value, though in the hands of Great Britain it might become an important possession. There is a good fort already erected there. The natives on the island, and in some of the parts adjacent, have been in some degree civilized by their intercourse with the Portuguese, and are very willing to labour for hire in the cultivation of the soil. The cluster of islands in its neighbourhood are almost all fertile, and some of them are wholly unoccupied. One of the most desirable of these, Bulama, is already the property of an English Company, called "The Bulama Association." Additional purchases of land might easily be made from the natives. The possession of Bissao would give to this country the command of that fine river the Rio Grande, at the mouth of which it is situated; and would enable us to exert a beneficial influence among the natives, far beyond the bounds of our actual occupancy.

Whether any measures can be taken to prevent the Portuguese, or any other neutral power, from supplying the hostile powers of France, Spain, and Holland with Negroes, is a question which it is not for me to discuss. If cargoes of slaves, destined to increase the colonies and marine of our enemies, could fairly be comprised under the rule of the war 1756, and be made liable in consequence to seizure and condemnation, our cruizers would probably soon put an entire stop to this branch of the trade.

If, besides this, those friendly and neutral nations, who have never had any concern in the Slave Trade,—viz. Russia, Sweden, Austria, Prussia, the Hanse Towns, and Sicily—would take effectual measures to prevent the use of their flags for the purpose of carrying on this trade; a measure



which, before any interests are created in those countries hostile to such a measure, it might not be difficult to effect : —if Denmark would enforce the provisions of the Royal Ordinance, by which the Slave Trade was to cease in 1804 : —if these different powers, together with America, whose Slave Trade ceases by law on the 1st of January next, would agree to abandon to capture, by British vessels, all ships bearing their flags which might be found engaged in the Slave Trade, the abolition of that trade, at least during the war, would be complete : and it may be hoped, if the war should continue for a few years longer, that the improvement which might take place in that time on the coast of Africa might render it difficult for France and Holland to revive the Slave Trade, even if they were inclined to do so.

## VII.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, TO THE RIGHT  
HON. LORD MULGRAVE, DATED LONDON,  
SEPT. 17, 1807.

My Lord,

SIR Richard Bickerton has done me the honour to request that I would state to your Lordship, in writing, what were the views of the Sierra Leone Company, in the application which they have made to your Lordship that a ship of war might be stationed for a time at the colony of Sierra Leone.

What they had chiefly in view was to provide for the security of the settlement. The last dispatches from the Governor of Sierra Leone express considerable fears lest the slave traders resident on the coast, exasperated by the abolition of the Slave Trade, which they choose to consider as a measure effected chiefly by the instrumentality of this Company, should excite the neighbouring natives to acts

of hostility against the colony. Threats of this kind have been held out by those traders, and, considering the means they possess of influencing the native chiefs, there is certainly some danger lest they should attempt to carry them into execution. But even if they should not proceed this length, much of their hostile intentions with respect to the colony would be effected by the alarms which such threats excite among the colonists, and which tend greatly to retard the progress of cultivation, and of other improvements. In either case, the presence of a ship of war will be of the utmost consequence. If the apprehensions of actual attack should be groundless, it will dissipate those apprehensions. If, on the other hand, they should be well-founded, it will greatly strengthen the means of repelling such an attack, or even entirely prevent its taking place. The colony, indeed, is of itself sufficiently strong to resist any force which the natives are likely to bring against it; but it is highly desirable that they should be deterred from making any hostile attempt, and to this, nothing would more effectually contribute, than the appearance in the river of one of his Majesty's ships, specially sent for the protection of the colony; and if, by such a measure, present danger be prevented, its future recurrence is hardly to be expected. The commander of the ship of war will naturally announce in an official way, that the colony, being transferred from the Sierra Leone Company to the Crown, is now taken under his Majesty's more immediate government and protection. The British Slave Traders, whose machinations with the native powers are regarded as the chief source of danger, when this change shall be made known to them by such an authority, will probably be deterred in future from pursuing any of those unfriendly measures towards the colony which would thenceforward incur the guilt of treason. And the native chiefs also, who well know how to distinguish between the resources of the Sierra Leone Company and those of the British Government, would be far less easily induced to act a hostile part against the settle-

ment. The transfer of the colony is intended to take place in form on the 1st of January next. It is needless to observe, that the presence of one of his Majesty's ships, at that time, will add great weight to the transaction, in the eyes of the colonists, and of the surrounding natives.

With respect to the time during which it may be proper to station a vessel of war at Sierra Leone, it is not easy to give a distinct opinion. This is a point which it might, perhaps, be advisable to leave in some measure to the discretion of the commander, acting in concert with the Governor of the colony. I do not, however, apprehend that it will be necessary that the ship should remain constantly in the river Sierra Leone, during the whole of the time that it may be advisable she should continue on that station. By making occasional excursions in the neighbourhood, the commander may have it in his power to yield protection to the British ships trading on the coast, as well as to enforce the provisions of the Act of last session for abolishing the Slave Trade; he may also have opportunities, by means of the more extended intercourse with the African chiefs which he will thus obtain, of improving in various ways the British interests in Africa. But on this and some other collateral points, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the accompanying copy of a letter which I had the honour some months ago of addressing to Lord Castlereagh. To save your Lordship's time, I have marked in the margin with red ink, those parts of the letter which have a more immediate reference to the subject of the present communication.

VIII.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ. TO EDWARD  
COOKE, ESQ. DATED LONDON, APRIL 11, 1808.

Sir,

AGREEABLY to your request, I have now the honour to submit to your consideration a paper of Memoranda on the subject of the instructions to be given to the Government of Sierra Leone. I will now take the liberty of adverting to a few points not touched upon in those Memoranda.

1. In a letter which I had the honour to address to Lord Castlereagh, in May 1807, on the general subject of Africa, I ventured to suggest, that advantage might be derived from obtaining possession of the different forts on the coast belonging to the enemies of Great Britain. This measure still appears to me to be one of great moment, and which it would also be very easy to accomplish. The reduction of the Dutch forts on the Gold Coast, and of the Portuguese fort of Bissao (if that is to be considered as hostile) would require little effort; and even Senegal itself is incapable of making any material resistance.

2. Another point, to which I would take the liberty of adverting, is the expediency of making Sierra Leone a place of strength. Without this, its influence among the natives will be limited and precarious: it will neither be able to repel aggression, nor will it obtain credit for the moderation and forbearance it may exercise; while the sense of insecurity will be a bar to exertion on the part of the colonists. In order to render the colony sufficiently strong, I apprehend that some additions ought still to be made to the fortifications, and that the number of the troops should be increased. To prevent the necessity, however, of sending many European troops thither, it may be desirable

to keep up the volunteer corps of Nova-Scotian and Maroon Blacks, which has been formed at the colony, and to send over a few companies of one of the West-India regiments. These would be useful, not merely as a garrison, and as tending to add to the security of the colony, by varying the description of its force; but also as a recruiting detachment.

3. It appears to be not less necessary to the success of the colony, that the establishment of civil servants should be ample; otherwise the affairs of the colony will fall into disorder, nor will it be possible for the Government to extend their exertions beyond its limits. In this view, therefore, it seems desirable, that a number of respectable young men (ten or fifteen) should be induced to go out in the capacity of writers. These, after having acquired a knowledge of the affairs of the colony, and of the customs and languages of the natives, would be prepared to engage in the different departments which might require their service; an arrangement, the advantage of which is strongly exemplified in the East Indies. The salary to be given to such persons, might be fixed at about 200*l.* per annum, subject to some increase, after certain terms of service, in cases where they had not already risen to superior situations.

4. I have said nothing in the Memoranda, of the extent and modifications of the power which a Governor possesses, with regard to the suspension and dismissal of servants in cases of improper conduct; nor with regard to the filling up of vacancies, and the employing of such servants as may be requisite. I have also omitted to say any thing of the manner in which the stores, which may be wanted in the colony (such as stationery, gunpowder, and other ordnance stores, building materials, &c.) are to be procured; or in which bills are to be drawn, for the payment of salaries and other current expenses; or of the nature of the vouchers which will be required. All these points, I presume, will be regulated by the established rules of his Majesty's service.

5. Should the institution of the Prize Court, which it is

proposed to erect at Sierra Leone, be delayed, it may, nevertheless, be expedient to transmit to the Governor copies of the Orders in Council lately issued on the subject of the seizures which may be made under the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade.

6. I have already stated, that Mr. Dawes, who has been appointed one of the Commission of Inquiry, is ready to proceed to Sierra Leone, with Mr. Thompson, and to occupy himself there in pursuits connected with the object of his mission, until the arrival of the other Commissioner, and of the frigate which is to be appropriated to that service.

**MEMORANDA ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING  
LETTER TO E. COOKE, ESQ.**

1. Mr. Thompson to be directed to proceed to Sierra Leone in the ship of war which is about to sail thither, and to succeed Mr. Ludlam in the government of the Colony on the 1st of October, 1808, or sooner, should Mr. Ludlam before that time vacate his situation. Mr. Thompson, in the interim, to fill the situation of first in Council.

2. The Governor and Council to enjoy and exercise, until further orders, the same legislative and judicial functions with which the Sierra Leone Company's Governor and Council were invested by his Majesty's Charter of Justice; their proceedings being of course subject to the approbation of his Majesty instead of that of the Court of Directors.

3. The Governor to be further invested with the various civil and military powers usually conferred on the Governors of other British Colonies.

4. To direct that all the ordinances and regulations which may be adopted by the Government of the Colony, whether they respect its internal administration, its defence from foreign attack, or its relations with the native powers—in short, all their proceedings of a public nature, with the reasons on which such proceedings are founded, and the

correspondence which may be entered into—be regularly recorded; and that copies of the same be transmitted from time to time to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

5. To direct that all the engagements made to the present Colonists, on the subject of grants of land, by the Sierra Leone Company, and all the stipulations entered into between the Company and the Native Chiefs, be considered as binding on the present Government.

6. To direct that, agreeably to the provision of the Act of Parliament for transferring the Colony to the Crown, the Governor shall immediately proceed to decide what part of the buildings erected in the Colony by the Sierra Leone Company shall be surrendered, along with the fortifications, to the Crown, and what part shall still continue in the hands of the Company.

N. B. In the discussions which took place preparatory to the transfer, between the Lords' Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, and the Court of Directors, it was agreed that the Company should only retain such buildings as had been erected by them for commercial or agricultural purposes.

7. To make it understood that his Majesty's Government is anxious to carry into full effect those views of policy which have led to the Abolition of the Slave Trade; and that it is their wish that the Colony of Sierra Leone should afford to the natives an example of a mild but firm and well-ordered government, and of secure and productive industry; and that the influence which its growing strength, and its growing commercial importance, may give it over the neighbouring chiefs, should be exerted in composing their differences, and inducing them to pursue plans of peaceful industry.

8. In conformity with these general principles, to instruct the Government of Sierra Leone to encourage and patronize every rational scheme of improving the condition of Africa; to favour the introduction of persons into that country who may be disposed to instruct the Natives in

useful arts, or to set them an example of profitable cultivation; to direct the attention of the British Slave Traders, who now reside on the coast, to the pursuit of agriculture, and of a trade in the natural productions of Africa; to take every proper opportunity of pointing out to the African Chiefs the various channels into which the industry of their people may be advantageously directed; to extend and improve as much as possible the British influence in Africa, by making treaties with the native powers, which, where it shall prove practicable, may comprise a recognition of the Abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain, and an engagement mutually to discourage the revival of that trade by any other nation, and which may secure privileges and immunities in favour of British traders and planters, who may settle among the natives; to adopt every practicable expedient for opening fresh channels of trade between Africa and Great Britain; to promote all eligible plans for exploring the interior, and particularly to endeavour to open a direct communication between the highest navigable point of the Sierra Leone river and the Foulah country, and also with the Niger; to encourage the acquisition of the native languages by the servants of Government and others in the colony, and to consider a proficiency in these as forming a ground of preference in designating persons to particular situations; and to use their best endeavours to excite industry, to repress immoral practices, and to maintain and encourage religion and virtue, both within the Colony, and as far as their influence may extend among the natives.

9. To require from the Governor and Council a full statement of their views respecting the system of policy which appears to them best suited to the circumstances of the Colony, in regard to the different branches of its internal administration, civil, judicial, and military; in regard to its political relations with the native chiefs; and in regard to the promotion of agriculture, commerce, and civilization, both within the settlement and, by means of the settlement, among the natives.



10. To require more particularly from them an opinion on the following points, viz:—

*First.* The nature and extent of the establishment requisite for the Colony, with a statement of the salaries which it would be proper to annex to the different offices.

*Second.* The conditions on which grants of land ought to be made by the Government to individuals.

*Third.* The best mode of increasing the population of the colony, and of insuring a regular supply of labourers.

*Fourth.* The additions which it would be proper to make to the fortifications, with an estimate of the expense.

This ought to be accompanied by an account of the present state of the fortifications.

11. To require full information on all subjects connected with the state and progress of the Colony, as well as with the state and condition of Africa in general.

12. To direct that a copy of all the local regulations which are now in force in the Colony, be transmitted to England.

26, Birchin Lane, April 11, 1808.

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## IX.

LETTER FROM THOMAS LUDLAM, ESQ. TO Z.,  
MACAULAY, ESQ. DATED FORT THORNTON,  
APRIL 14, 1807.

My Dear Sir,

I OFFER a few thoughts on the subject of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, as it respects Africa in general, and our own colony in particular.

In the first place, the Abolition of itself will not prevent the Africans from still remaining a savage and uncivilized people. To abolish the Slave Trade is not to abolish the violent passions which now find vent in that particular direction. Were it to cease, the misery of Africa would arise from other causes; but it does not follow that Africa would be less miserable: she might even be less miserable, and yet be savage and uncivilized.

This will doubtless be acknowledged: and it may be asked why I repeat so obvious a truth. I answer, because the writings of the Abolitionists leave a contrary impression. They speak of the darkness in which *we* have kept Africa, and of the happiness which she may now look forward to, as if it were an unquestionable fact that Africa would have been civilized had it not been for the Slave Trade: nay, further, that civilization, Christianity, and happiness, are now to be looked forward to as the natural effects of Abolition\*. They say not this in direct terms; to do so would sufficiently expose the absurdity; but it is an obvious, and sometimes an unavoidable, conclusion from what they do say.

I mention it therefore on two accounts: *First*, that the friends of Africa may recollect the true nature and effects of Abolition. They must remember, that it does not actually set us forward one step in our course. It removes an artificial barrier which could not otherwise have been forced; but all the natural obstacles to the improvement of a savage people remain as great as ever. *Secondly*, that warm and unthinking people may be cautioned against a disappointment that might lead to unfortunate consequences. The

\* Those who are more cautious, speak as if a friendly intercourse with the Africans must naturally take place after the Abolition, and as if civilization would naturally follow from a friendly intercourse. It is much nearer the truth to affirm, that a self-interested intercourse will take place; and that injuries, retaliations, wars, and conquests, will be the natural effects of *any* intercourse. That civilization will follow conquests, I more readily allow.

\* H

example of Carolina shews, that a country may first abolish yet afterwards re-establish the Slave Trade. And the course is easy. Under a lukewarm government, smuggling may be practised to any extent. When unpunished breaches of such a law become notorious, the argument is plain, that much evil, even to the slaves themselves, might be prevented by regulating the trade. The trade cannot be regulated without being legalized. Its warmest enemies at present may by that time become lukewarm, having perceived so little *direct* benefit to arise from the Abolition: disappointment may even lead them to think the Africans incapable of improvement. In such a state of mind they will readily yield to the expediency of letting the *best* practicable be done, rather than exert themselves in vain after the best that could be wished for, and think that humanity itself is on their side when they establish a regulated, in order to supersede a contraband, Slave Trade.

In the next place I would observe, that the administration of every African government must become extremely severe, if not extremely bloody. When so effectual a punishment as slavery is done away, which yet, as it sheds no blood, is readily executed on petty criminals and in doubtful cases, severe punishments and more terrible examples must be introduced. Every ancient institution, the power of every hereditary chief, must now be sustained by blood, instead of slavery. It is true, that through the Slave Trade the punishment of many small crimes has been raised into slavery; but it is no less true, that the punishment of some great ones has been sunk into it. The effect will be similar on the public law by which the intercourse of independent towns and tribes is regulated. Like as in all feudal governments, every African chief is more ready to protect his own retainers, whether right or wrong, than to do justice to others. At present, therefore, an injured chief catches the people of his neighbour, and this compels the aggressor to talk the palaver, as otherwise his people would be sold. When it is no longer worth while to catch them by surprise,

and hold them as a pledge of justice, the injured party must make war ; and kill his neighbour's people for revenge, since he cannot sell them for satisfaction.

I would observe, thirdly, that notwithstanding all that has been said about the taste the Africans have acquired for European commodities, there is little reason to expect they will exert themselves, in the way of regular industry, in order to obtain those commodities. I rather think that they will sink back to their former state, which is still the state of the natives two or three hundred miles inland. They will weave their own cloth, raise their own tobacco, smelt their own iron, and resume their bows and arrows. Be it remembered, that the greatest demand for their rice (the " staple of the country ") is to supply the slaves while kept in factories, or during the Middle Passage. They will scarcely ever be able to exchange rice for European goods ; for it can hardly be supposed that African rice will answer in the English market. Cotton, coffee, and sugar, were they to raise them, would be excluded, as not being produced in British Colonies. Where, then, will be their inducement to industry ? The collection of rude produce is not industry ; and if it were, how contemptible is its quantity, and how easily is the market overstocked with every sort, except ivory. What inducement, then, can they have to regular industry ! Its present self-denial is torment : its future advantages they have no relish for.

Another probable consequence of the Abolition of the Slave Trade is, that, on the return of peace, French influence will predominate throughout the whole coast. Our own people will in such a case be drawn away to foreign colonies, as much as they are now to foreign factories. The immense American possessions of the French and their dependents, the Dutch and Spaniards, will be sufficient, without any very great addition of capital, to take off half as many slaves as Africa has been accustomed to furnish. This estimate cannot be called excessive. At any rate, they would purchase great numbers, and they would be the only

purchasers. Every African chief would look up to them, as his sole dependance, for every thing which gratified his passions or supported his power. Those chiefs who are most involved in the Slave Trade are generally the most determined, artful, and active of the whole body. Their affections must go with their interests. Those, therefore, who are capable of being our most formidable enemies in Africa, will be closely leagued with our most inveterate enemies from Europe. The usual system of debts, moreover, will place the chiefs continually in the power of those who trade with them. In fact, the French must possess all those advantages over the English, which we have felt the Slave traders to possess over the colony. As to any hope, that, before the French can re-establish the Slave Trade, the Africans may have formed new habits, and learned to obtain the European commodities which they want by patient industry or a wide-extended inland commerce, it seems to me contrary to all experience of the progress towards civilization in other and more favoured countries.

There will be no question, I presume, that the French will diligently endeavour to extend their influence in Africa by all possible means, and as diligently endeavour to drive us out of it.

I hold it incontestable also, that *in a few years* smuggling will be practised to a vast extent. May it not be questioned, whether opening the ports of South Carolina did really increase the American Slave Trade, or, what is still more to the purpose, the importation of slaves into that state? That it made them cheaper to the purchaser, I have no doubt; but, so far as I have seen, there were as many American Slave traders on this part of the coast before it was made lawful, as afterwards. American ships used to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves in spite of all prohibitions: will not they do the same again when their own ports are closed? How surely does a demand for any commodities produce a supply! In the present instance the demand is for men, women, and children; and can we

doubt that illicit methods will be resorted to for supplying them? The profit, indeed, must be proportioned to the risk. My chief hope is, that our West-India planters will not be able to pay this increased price, while their gains are kept down by the rivalry of more fertile colonies.

The traders on this coast are of many nations; Germans, French, and Americans, as well as English. I should not wonder to see the flags of some nations on these seas which never appeared here before, or which, in fact, have scarcely a flag to shew any where. An Englishman now here, avows his intention of turning French citizen directly, and setting his own countrymen at defiance.

I cannot be much influenced by the question of capital: the hope of high profits will transfer it, in spite of any risk. It is unnecessary to produce instances; the writers against the Slave Trade, themselves, furnish abundance. But, in fact, the Slave Trade requires very little capital. A slave's goods will not cost above ten pounds: ten pounds per head more is reckoned a fair freight: this will shew at once how small a capital is required for the whole supply of our enemies' possessions. I suppose slaves will average from 60*l.* to 80*l.* Will not such a profit draw capital from all quarters? So small are the vessels which the Americans employ, that I suppose any adventurer who can command 1000*l.* has capital enough to have a vessel of his own, and trade for himself. Can 1000*l.* in any other trade be employed so advantageously? I question whether the traders now resident on this part of the coast have not capital enough among themselves to carry on its trade.

Let us now consider its more direct effects on ourselves. I presume that no one, acquainted with the country, will doubt that the Abolition will produce attacks (perhaps many and formidable attacks) upon the colony. I do not pretend to be prophet sufficient to say what nations, or how many, will make war upon us; but that several will, is certain, except those who have lived longest among Africans.

are most ignorant of African dispositions \*. The desire of revenge, the hope of plunder, the intrigues of disappointed white men, warlike habits, and the want of any other foe worth attacking, are motives which must stimulate them to the attempt. I never heard an argument on the opposite side, except what was implied in the question, "If the colony be destroyed, who will buy their produce?" I answer, First, Ships now come to buy it; and will not come the less because the trade lies more open, and is shared by fewer rivals. Secondly, Some factories will still be left; and others will *pretend* that they are to be always kept up, if it be only for the sake of persuading the natives that they will run no risk of injuring the trade of their country by destroying us. Thirdly, Contingent and distant interests can have little influence among a savage people, when opposed to the thirst of revenge and the hope of present gain.

Secondly. The Abolition will retard the progress of cultivation within the colony; for it will render cultivation more hazardous, and trade more profitable. That cultivation will be more hazardous, needs no proof, if what I have said in the last paragraph be admitted as true. But if we be not actually attacked, many causes will concur to turn the balance in favour of trade. We shall, at least for a long time, be in *fear* of attack: our enemies (both black and white) know well how much the rumours of war harass and disturb us, and therefore they seldom leave us long without such causes of disquietude. The colonists, at least the Nova-Scotians, always averse to cultivation, catch eagerly at every pretence of hazard to excuse their neglect of it. Many years' experience has shewn us how easily our grumettas have been driven away by every alarm; and without

\* The European traders profess to believe that they will be cut to pieces, and their factories plundered, as soon as the Natives are sure that the trade is about to cease. Doubtless they are in some danger.

a constant supply of labourers, cultivation cannot succeed. Nearly the whole of the more intelligent and active, part of our people have at all times shewn a decided preference to trade; and, of late, colonial trade has become more successful. All these things will increase the bias in favour of commerce. But the proper trade of the coast will also become more advantageous. The rivalry of the slave-traders, in purchasing produce, is much more than a common rivalry. The vessels, and factories, and agents, which are necessary to buy slaves, can purchase produce without any additional expense—but it would lead me far from my present subject, were I to enumerate the causes, both general and local, which give the slave-traders a decided superiority over us. The little produce which has lately been collected, is obtained chiefly in consequence of our people pushing into new rivers, or, as I may say, opening new sources of trade; hither the slave-traders follow them, and ultimately endeavour to exclude them\*.

When the Slave Trade has ceased, we shall have an equal chance with others; and, undoubtedly, in proportion as our trade succeeds, so it will increase. Some of our traders are not like the main body of the people: they do not sit down and rest when once they are well off, but rather are stimulated by being well off to aim at being better. Their industry and capital, be it little or much, will naturally be employed in that way which is at once best known, easiest, and most profitable. I deny not, that trade will be hazardous, as well as cultivation; but were it much more hazardous, high profits would turn the scale. The unpleasantness and difficulties of a trade among savages, the dangers of a new colony, together with the irregularity of its commerce till

\* An intelligent slave-trader told me, that no one had ventured into Boon for many years, till John Kizell, in spite of the war which raged there, *opened the river*, as the African phrase is. It is now full of traders: and Kizell already complains, with great reason, of their conduct towards him.—See his Letters in the Sherbro Correspondence,



the supply has settled to its proper level, render the profits of trade necessarily high. The products of cultivation meet in a foreign market with similar products raised in peace and under circumstances every way favourable: both bear the same price: toil and danger obtain no higher profits than are afforded to peace and security. Where, then, is their compensation? We have none to offer: and the consequences are obvious. In the long run, doubtless, all this may prove of advantage. I have seen enough already, to make me believe we shall form no exception to the remark that the gains of trade have a natural tendency to become an agricultural capital. But we cannot cultivate yet. The Abolition opens to us an extensive and advantageous field, but it closes up that in which we were expected to labour.

It follows, I think, that the Abolition will be of little benefit to Africa, unless plans for its improvement and civilization be vigorously acted upon: now, therefore, more than ever, the colony should be liberally supported, or entirely given up. If, on the one hand, its objects are important, they are more likely than ever to be obtained: if on the other, expense and hazard are serious objections, both must be increased. At this time, above every other, I trust Government will not halt between two opinions.

The true question is, whether it be an object of national importance (not merely to establish new sugar and coffee plantations, though this be a part of the design, but) to extend British commerce and influence in this quarter of the Globe? If it be, its price must be paid. Nor will it cost money alone: a very material part of that price will be the zealous and active superintendence which will be required at home.

If this place be alternately pampered and neglected, according to the fluctuating politics of different administrations;—if unprincipled men be sent out to make a fortune, partly by oppressing the people, partly by fleecing the public;—if we be allowed to remain so weak, and the influence

of the Government so low, as occasionally to revive the hopes of our foreign and domestic enemies; it is evident that the money and lives that have been, and may hereafter be, spent upon the Colony, will be wasted in vain.

## X.

LIST OF VESSELS WHICH IMPORTED GOODS INTO THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, FROM MAY 1812 TO JUNE 1814; TAKEN FROM THE CUSTOM-HOUSE RETURNS.

Sloop Mary Anne	Brig Christopher
Schooner Betty	Schooner Roebuck
Schooner Jenny	Brig Kitty
Sloop Young Frederick	Schooner N. S. de los Angeles
Schooner Quiz	Ship Thomas
Brig John Anderson	Ship Fortune
<i>Brig Prospect</i>	Schooner Esther
Brig Only Son	Sloop William Pitt
<i>Brig Emma</i>	Brig Freetown
<i>Ship Merced</i>	<i>Brig Minerva</i>
Sloop Young Frederick	Schooner Princess Charlotte
Brig Flora	<i>Brig David</i>
Brig Andalusia	Brig Kitty
Schooner Alder	Sloop William Pitt
Brig Fly	Brig Leonidas
Ship Herald	Brig Roebuck
Sloop Constitution	Schooner Elizabeth
Brig Carlotta	Ship Sibella
Schooner Rose in June	Brig Neptune
Schooner George	Sloop Young Frederick
Brig North Star	Ship Fortune
Ship Molly	Brig Catherine

<i>Sloop Young Frederick</i>	<b>Brig San Michael Triumphant</b>
<i>Ship Esmeralda</i>	<b>Schooner Centinella</b>
<i>Schooner Flor de Porto</i>	<b>Brig San Carlos</b>
<i>Brig Dezangano</i>	<b>Ship Esperanza</b>
<i>Brig Prazeres</i>	<b>Schooner Sagunta</b>
<i>Brig Destino</i>	<b>Schooner Laura Ann</b>
<i>Brig Lindeza</i>	<b>Schooner Tereza</b>
<i>Brig San Juan</i>	<b>Schooner Marquis de Somo-</b>
<i>Brig Americano</i>	<b>ruellos</b>
<i>Ship Andorinha</i>	<b>Ship N. S. da Victoria</b>
<i>Brig Triunfo de Onias</i>	<b>Schooner Delores</b>
<i>Schooner Dolphin</i>	<b>Brig Disforço</b>
<i>Brig Carlota</i>	<b>Brig Providentia</b>
<i>Brig Horizontè</i>	<b>Schooner Bon Jesu</b>
<i>Brig Fleur D'Amerique</i>	<b>Brig Urania</b>
<i>Brig Rambler</i>	<b>Sloop San Juan</b>
<i>Sloop San Juan</i>	<b>Brig Minhao de Lisboa</b>
<i>Brig San Jose Triunfo</i>	

N.B. The *cargoes* of the six vessels printed in Italics, belonged, either in whole or in part, to Messrs. Z. Macaulay and Babington. Only two of the *vessels* belonged to them.

# XI.

LIST OF VESSELS WHICH EXPORTED PRODUCE  
FROM SIERRA LEONE, FROM JULY 30, 1812,  
TO JUNE 15, 1812; TAKEN FROM THE CUS-  
TOM-HOUSE RETURNS.

<i>Ship Merced</i>	Sloop Rambler
Brig Prospect	Schooner Fame
Brig Triumphante	Schooner George
Flora Transport	<i>Ship Sibella</i>
Sloop Young Frederick	Brig Neptune
Brig Fly	Schooner Elizabeth
Brig Carlota	Sloop Young Frederick
Brig North Star	Brig Manhão
Schooner Rose	Ship Fortune
Ship Molly	Brig Catherine
Schooner Roebuck	Schooner Roebuck
Brig Three Friends	Schooner Hawke
Sloop Neustra Senora	Schooner Sophia
Ship Fortune	Sloop Young Frederick
Ship Thomas	Ship Esmeralda
Schooner Esther	Brig Doris
Brig Rambler	Brig Comus
Brig Freetown	Brig John
<i>Brig Minerva</i>	Centinella
Brig Christopher	Brig Kitty
Brig Leonidas	

N. B. Of these vessels or their cargoes Messrs Z. Macaulay  
and Babington had no concern in any but three, the names  
of which are printed in Italics.

## XII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MESSRS. Z. MAC-  
AULAY AND BABINGTON, TO THEIR AGENT  
AT SIERRA LEONE, M. MACMILLAN, ESQ.,  
DATED LONDON, DEC. 4, 1812.

THE continuance of the war with America renders it unlikely that the price of rice should much fall at present. Would it not be possible to contract with persons, both to windward and leeward, to furnish annually a certain quantity at such rates as would suit ordinary times, which might be regularly laid in in the months of January and February, and shipped before a drop of rain began to fall? Or, if you could contract with persons at Sierra Leone to furnish you with certain quantities of rice in casks, at certain prices, the rice being ascertained to be clean and dry, it would answer still better. This plan would give a spur to the industry both of the colonists and the natives: and of course, if the plan should answer, it would not be confined to one cargo, but might be extended to any quantity which the wants of this country, or of the West Indies, might demand. We are persuaded that such a plan, steadily and judiciously pursued, would answer well for us, and would answer still better for Africa. Let us earnestly request you to give it your best attention.

FINIS.

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Ellerton and Henderson, Printers,  
Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London.

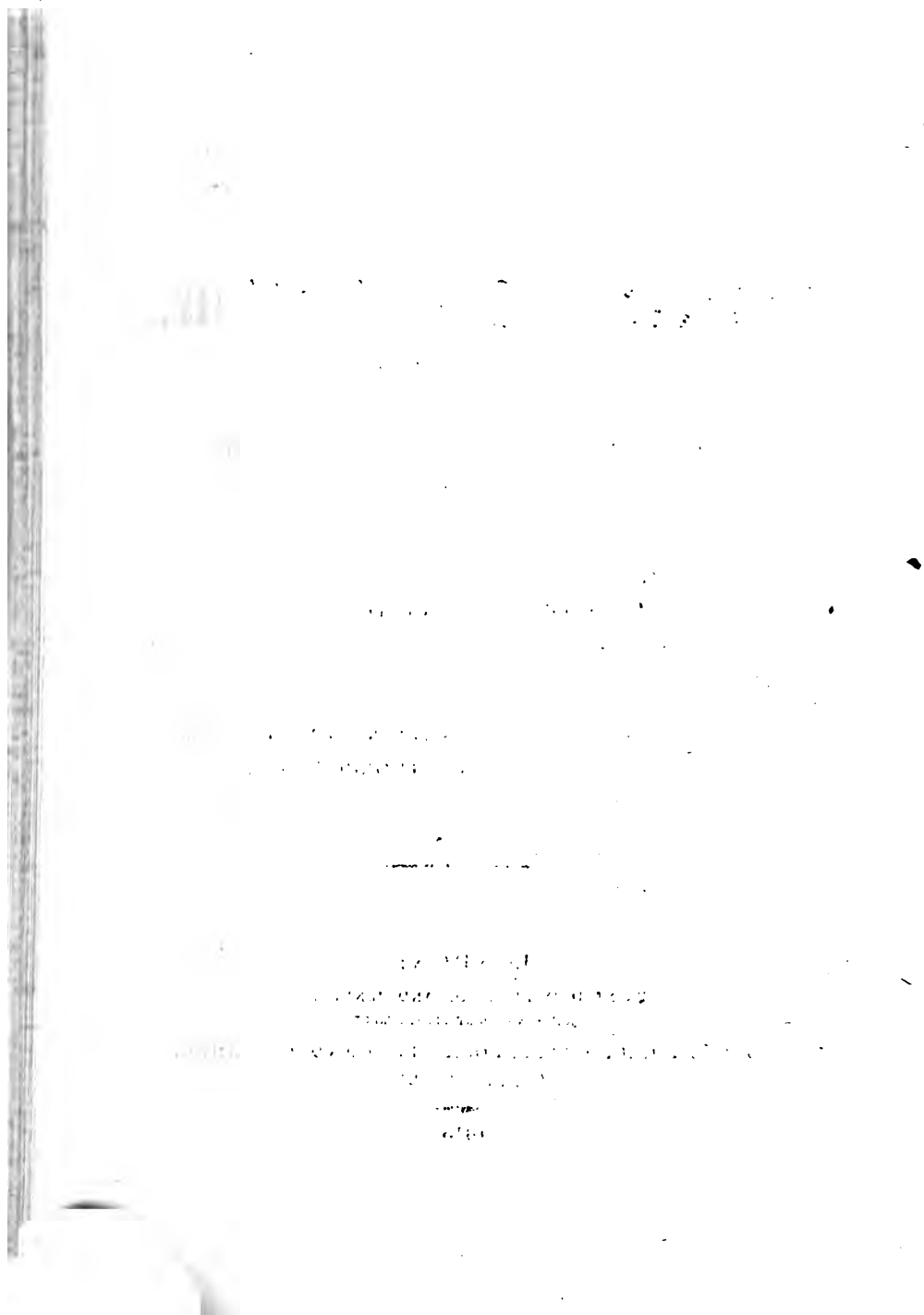
**SPECIAL**  
**R E P O R T** DT  
OF THE 516  
T52  
**DIRECTORS**  
OF THE  
**African Institution,**

**MADE**  
**AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, ON THE**  
**12th OF APRIL, 1815,**  
**RESPECTING**  
**THE ALLEGATIONS**  
**CONTAINED IN**  
**A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "A LETTER TO WILLIAM WIL-**  
**BERFORCE, ESQ. &c. BY R. THORPE, ESQ. &c."**

---

**LONDON:**  
**PRINTED BY KILLERTON AND HENDERSON,**  
**JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET.**  
**SOLD BY J. HATCHARD, BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER,**  
**190, PICCADILLY.**

**1815.**



Rev.  
Barrington  
H-27-49  
66603

## R E P O R T,

&c. &c.

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**B**EFORE the Directors proceed to comment on the particulars of Mr. Thorpe's publication, it may be expedient to request the attention of the Subscribers to some important considerations respecting the nature and difficulties of the task which they have undertaken. They found themselves, from the very first, embarrassed between the wish which, on the one hand, they felt fully to discharge the duty imposed on them, and the impossibility, on the other, of doing this in any adequate manner, without going into such a length of detail as would be likely to exhaust the patience of the most indulgent audience. "To draw up a full and detailed Report on all such parts of Mr. Thorpe's publication as in any manner concern the conduct and proceedings of this Institution, or the character of its members, or of any persons employed in its service" (such are the terms of the Resolution adopted by the Board), would indeed be an Herculean labour; for it may be truly affirmed, that almost in every paragraph of Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet some charge is made, or some imputation cast, either on the Institution itself or on



several of its most active members. It ought also to be remembered that the alleged misconduct applies to a considerable number of individuals, and extends through a period of near twenty-five years. Above all (to explain the difficulty of the Board still more clearly by a specific instance), it should be considered, that in order fully to disprove a short and simple proposition, such for instance as that serious charge contained in Mr. Thorpe's sixth page, that cultivation in the Colony of Sierra Leone had been retarded by the Sierra Leone Company, it would be necessary, not merely to repel the charge in the same general terms in which it was preferred, but to exhibit the various proofs and authorities by which it might be incontestably shewn, that, from the first settlement of the Colony of Sierra Leone, amidst many and great obstacles, cultivation had been the object of the Company's anxious and unremitted attention. To establish, therefore, even this single point, as it might be satisfactorily and decisively established by a detail of particulars—by extracts from the original records, journals, correspondences, and reports, extending through so many years—would alone constitute a compilation, which, though rendered as concise as possible, would occupy more time and attention than the Board dares venture to hope the Subscribers would be willing to spare to this discussion. Yet, after all, this, though undoubtedly an important point, would be but one of the many assertions which the Directors feel it their duty to deny, would be but one of the numerous charges which they can positively and entirely repel.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the earnest wish which the Directors feel to execute completely the task they have undertaken, they fear that they must still leave many mistatements of fact unrefuted, and many unfounded insinuations unrepelled. But they confidently trust that the statements they shall make will decisively establish the utter groundlessness of those charges which are the most important : and that not only the Subscribers, but the public at large, will learn from the specimens which the Report shall afford them, what estimate to form of other charges and insinuations which either have proceeded, or may hereafter proceed, from the same source, against individuals of hitherto unblemished characters.

The pamphlet of Mr. Thorpe commences with an attack on the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, whose conduct, and even whose motives, he arraigns in the strongest and most unqualified terms. In justice to that body, it may be proper to specify who were the individuals composing it. The Chairman and leading member of it, from the first institution of the Company to its final dissolution, was Mr. Henry Thornton, who is well known to have devoted a large portion of his time, and the powers of his active, discriminating, and upright mind to the superintendence of its concerns. It fell chiefly to him to examine and select persons for the Company's service abroad, to conduct the correspondence with the Colony, and to prepare the Reports that were made to the Proprietors, or which were afterwards printed. The Deputy Chairmen were, successively, Philip Sansom, Esq. ; Charles Grant, Esq. now Chairman of

the East-India Company ; and Lord Teignmouth. Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord Barham ; Admiral Sir George Young ; and Thomas Clarkson, Esq. were efficient Directors until they quitted London ; and the Hon. Edward James Eliot, to the time of his death. Besides these, the following gentlemen were in the direction during almost the whole period of the Company's existence:—W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. ; Thomas Babington, Esq. M. P. ; Thomas Furley Forster, Esq. ; Joseph Hardcastle, Esq. ; John Inglis, Esq. ; John Kingston, Esq. ; Samuel Parker, Esq. ; Edward Parry, Esq. ; John Prinsop, Esq. ; Granville Sharpe, Esq. ; and George Wolff, Esq.

The various statements which have been laid before Parliament and the public, on the subject of Sierra Leone, were drawn up and sanctioned by these well-known and distinguished characters, whom it is unnecessary to defend from the imputation of either having practised a deception on the public, or of having been actuated by corrupt or improper motives. They contributed, some of them largely, from their own funds, to the general object ; and the situation which they held as Directors, was attended with no pecuniary advantage. It was made a bye law from the first, that no member of their body should derive any emolument from the Company, beyond the dividend which he might receive in common with all other proprietors.

The reports and statements of these individuals may be referred to as completely negating the charges and imputations of Mr. Thorpe ; and as Mr. Thorpe did not visit the Colony until three years

and a half after the Company had ceased to govern it, and his residence there continued only for twenty-one months, namely from July 1811 to March 1813, his testimony cannot be regarded as of much moment when thus opposed. Whatever credit might be due to his testimony, when speaking of things within the sphere of his observation, yet of what passed during the Sierra Leone Company's administration of the Colony he could have no personal knowledge. His representations, therefore, loose and vague as they are, can hardly be allowed to weigh materially against the deliberate and recorded statements of the gentlemen who have been named, themselves actors in the business, and possessing full access to every official document, and to the best sources of oral information.

Here, therefore, the case of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company might be safely left. It may, nevertheless, be expedient, with the view of fully appreciating the value of Mr. Thorpe's testimony, to examine somewhat more in detail the specific charges which he makes against that body.

1. Mr. Thorpe affirms (p. 3), that the Sierra Leone Company "had a monopoly of the trade." The Board presumes that he means the trade of the Colony, although the preceding paragraph (p. 2) would seem to imply that he meant the "trade of the west coast of Africa." But had Mr. Thorpe merely consulted the Act incorporating the Sierra Leone Company, and this it surely was his duty to have done, he must have known that they possessed no commercial monopoly whatever; a

clause having been introduced into that Act, which had the effect of preventing any such monopoly even within their own territory.

But as it was possible, that although the Company possessed no monopoly by law, they might, nevertheless, in point of fact, monopolize the colonial trade, the Directors have pointed their inquiries to this object;—and they have ascertained to their entire satisfaction, that even within the colony of Sierra Leone itself, the Company had to contend from the first with rival traders, both British and American; that they never possessed the power of excluding merchandize from the settlement, whence-soever, or by whomsoever it might be imported; and that, as there was a frequent resort to the river Sierra Leone of ships both from Europe and America; and, as many slave factories were planted in the immediate vicinity of the Colony, whence goods might easily be introduced; the Company could not have retained the colonial trade, except by regulating their profits on a more moderate scale than would suit private adventurers. In point of fact, it appears that the Company continued to carry on trade for many years, less with a view to their own benefit, than to that of the infant colony; and they even held out inducements to persons of probity to settle as merchants at Sierra Leone, in the hope of being thus enabled gradually to relinquish their commercial pursuits altogether, without material disadvantage to the settlement.

2. Notwithstanding this alleged *monopoly*, Mr. Thorpe observes (p. 3), that the Company “sunk

almost to bankruptcy from causes enveloped in *mystery*."

The Company, as has been seen, had no *monopoly*. The charge of *mystery* is equally unfounded. The Act of Incorporation required that a general meeting of the Proprietors should be held at least once every year; and that an account of the debts, credits, and capital of the Company, should be annually published in the Gazette. These requisitions were regularly fulfilled. The general meetings of the Proprietors were usually numerous and respectable, and to them a full and detailed Report of the events of the preceding year was made, accompanied by a statement of the Company's funds. The substance of these Reports was printed from time to time, viz. in 1794, 1795, 1798, 1801, 1804, and 1808, so as to form a history of the Colony and of the Company, from the commencement of the Institution in 1791, to the transfer of the Colony to the Crown, on the 1st of January, 1808.

Of each of the printed Reports, six in number, about 2000 copies were distributed among the Proprietors. Of the Report of 1794, containing a full history of the first two years and a half of the Company, a large edition was also printed for public sale in an octavo volume, by Phillips, of George Yard, Lombard Street, of whom it may still be obtained.

Besides this, four parliamentary inquiries have taken place into the affairs of the Company, one at the bar of the House of Lords, in 1799: another, in a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1802,

of which Lord Castlereagh was chairman, and Mr. Pitt an active member; a third, in a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1803-4, of which the Marquis of Lansdowne, then Lord Henry Petty, was chairman, and of which the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, was an efficient member; and a fourth, in a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1807, of which the Marquis of Buckingham, then Lord Temple, was chairman.

The Reports of these Committees, with the evidence delivered before them, and also the evidence taken at the bar of the House of Lords, were printed for the use of the members.

Under these circumstances, with what colour of truth can it be said that any *mystery* has enveloped the affairs of the Company or the conduct of the Directors? Indeed, the character of the Directors would of itself have been a guarantee against any corrupt appropriation of the funds entrusted to them, even if full details of their transactions had not from time to time been laid before their constituents, and also before Parliament and the public.

The causes which led to the absorption of the capital of the Company are in no degree involved in mystery. They are plain and obvious, and have been clearly stated on various occasions. The capital joint stock of the Company was originally 234,000*l*. Before the first two years and a half had past, that is to say, before the 1st of July, 1794, the Company had already expended near 100,000*l*. in maintaining the necessary establishment of Euro-

peans; in subsisting, for a great part of that time, 1100 settlers; in providing temporary accommodation on shipboard, for their servants and others, until houses should be prepared; in the erection of the necessary dwelling-houses and public buildings; in allotting to the Colonists their lands, and cutting roads through all parts of the settlement; and in the various contingent expenses, both at home and abroad, to which such an undertaking is necessarily liable. To this they had to add, the heavy loss arising from the destruction, by an accidental fire in the harbour of Sierra Leone, of a store-ship of 800 tons burthen, used as a floating factory, with a large assortment of merchandize on board, valued at 18,000*l*.

Much of the expense which had been incurred in establishing the Colony, previous to the period that has been specified, would not indeed have proved eventually a loss to the Company, had it not been, that a few months afterwards, namely, in September 1794, the Colony was captured by a French squadron, which burnt every house of every kind that the Company had erected, captured eleven vessels of different sizes from 50 to 300 tons, and carried off or destroyed merchandize to a very large amount.

With a capital thus diminished to about one third of its original amount, the Company had to commence their operations anew; to re-erect the houses, warehouses, and other public buildings, that had been destroyed, and to maintain all the establishments which were necessary for the government, defence, and subsistence of the Colony; for the pre-



ervation of health, for the education of youth, and for public religious instruction ; besides sustaining various heavy commercial losses, in consequence of the war which then prevailed. All these expenses they bore for six years longer ; namely, till 1800, without any aid whatever from any quarter. The Colonists contributed nothing towards defraying them ; and it was then for the first time that the Company applied for and obtained a share, at first small, but which was afterwards enlarged, of the public bounty, which, for nearly a century, had been annually bestowed on other Establishments on the coast of Africa, erected with far different views from those which actuated the Sierra Leone Company ; namely, for promoting and protecting the accumulated evils of the Slave Trade.

The Sierra Leone Company thought, and not without reason, that while such large sums of the public money had been expended in spreading barbarism and desolation in that country, they might fairly claim some aid from Parliament for the maintenance of an establishment which was formed with the express design of counteracting these evils, and which, without such aid, must have been abandoned \*.

Two of the inquiries already referred to as having taken place in committees of the House of Commons, originated in the applications of the Company for a grant of money to defray the expense of maintaining the Colony. That of 1803-4, went into the exami-

\* See Appendix A.

nation at great length, even of hostile evidence, and particularly that of Captain, now Admiral, Hallowell; and its Report may be referred to as conclusively proving, that down to that period there had been no deviation, on the part of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, from the professed objects of that institution, and that they were not chargeable with any misapplication of the funds entrusted to them. On the contrary, this Committee after a most laborious investigation, give it as their opinion, that "unless a transfer of the Colony to the Crown should be effected, and until it take place, there does not appear *any better means* of discharging the obligations of Government towards the Nova Scotians and Maroons, or *of obtaining the other beneficial purposes proposed by the Institution of the Colony, than by supporting the Company's Government, as now established.*" \*

\* In justice to the Sierra Leone Company, it ought to be stated, that they had incurred very heavy expenses by taking under their protection and management a large number of Blacks from Nova Scotia. These had formerly been Slaves, who, having joined the British standard in the American Revolutionary War, and having been taken to Nova-Scotia after its termination, had petitioned the British Government to remove them to a more congenial climate, just about the time of the founding of the Colony of Sierra Leone. At a subsequent period, the Company also received, at the express and earnest entreaty of his Majesty's Government, a considerable number of Jamaica Maroons. To both of these bodies, it was declared by the Committee of the House of Commons, and acknowledged by the Members of the Administration, that the British Government was bound by every consideration of

Of the quantity of land thus promised, one fifth part was allotted to the whole body of the Colonists, before the first year of their residence at Sierra Leone had expired; and in the mean time, they were entirely supported at the Company's expense. But even this fifth part has proved more than sufficient for them. The remaining four-fifths have been repeatedly offered to them, but the offer has been for obvious reasons generally declined. Having already received more land than they required for cultivation, it would have been a mere burthen to have received a farther allotment, subject, as it would have been, to the payment of the quitrent. The right, however, to the remaining four-fifths of the quantity of land originally promised them, was carefully preserved to the Nova Scotians. *This was stipulated by the Sierra Leone Company*, and agreed to by his Majesty's Government, when the transfer of the Colony to the Crown was negotiated; and the King's Governor was accordingly instructed by the Secretary of State to satisfy the claims of the Nova Scotians for further allotments, to the full extent of the Sierra Leone Company's promises.

Here, however, the Board is enabled to produce testimony to which Mr. Thorpe cannot object. On the 16th of May, 1812, he himself addressed a letter to Governor Maxwell, in the following terms:—

“ My dear Sir,

“ Mr. Heddle delivered to me by your Excellency's desire, an unfinished draft of a grant for

Crown Lands, and other papers relative to the claims of persons in this Colony.

*“ Lord Liverpool seems only anxious to have the engagements of the Sierra Leone Company with the Settlers from Nova Scotia fulfilled. I should, therefore, advise your issuing a proclamation, desiring all Nova Scotia Settlers, who had entered into any engagement with the Sierra Leone Company, to send in their claims, that they may be considered and fulfilled as far as they are just, and that every claim not sent in before the 1st of May, 1813, will be considered void and of no effect. By this means you will pay immediate attention to Lord Liverpool’s letter; you will accurately know what land is vacant on the 1st of May 1813, what claims you have to settle, what encouragement you can give, and at the same time convince the people of your readiness to secure every person, worthy of your protection, in their property and privileges.”*

But whence could this anxiety on the part of Lord Liverpool have arisen, except from the representations of the Sierra Leone Company, whom Mr. Thorpe accuses of infidelity to their engagements? And what effect did the measure proposed by Mr. Thorpe produce? Not above three or four applications grounded upon it, appear to have been made to the Colonial Government.

5. But Mr. Thorpe, while he admits that land to the extent of a fifth part of the quantity promised them, was allotted to the Nova-Scotian Settlers, states, “that implements to cultivate even this fifth part

were difficult to find, and too expensive to procure.” —This allegation is also without foundation. At no period, while the Sierra Leone Company continued to govern the Colony, does there appear to have been any want of implements of husbandry or of tools of any kind. Prone as the Nova-Scotian Settlers ever have been, among other infirmities to be traced but too naturally to their former debased condition of slavery, to indulge in trivial and unreasonable complaints, there is no trace to be found in any of their representations, not even in their petition which Dr. Thorpe has annexed to his pamphlet, of a want either of mechanical tools or of implements of husbandry. But independently of this circumstance, the Board has had the most satisfactory evidence laid before it, that during the whole period of the Company’s administration, no want of implements was experienced in the Colony. Mr. Thorpe appears to be the only individual who has ever attributed the backwardness of cultivation at Sierra Leone to this cause.

6. Mr. Thorpe farther maintains, not only that implements could with difficulty be procured to till the soil, but that the Company, for certain interested motives, actually discouraged cultivation in the Colony. Cultivation was “retarded” by them (p. 6); nay, it was not even “attempted.” (p. 49.)

It must be obvious, however, and the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, who were men known to possess large, enlightened, and liberal views, were not likely to be blind to this truth, that their own prosperity was intimately linked with that of the

settlement, the basis of which must be the cultivation of the soil. That they were thoroughly penetrated with this sentiment, is shown by various dispatches which they addressed to their Governor and Council, who, on their part, appear to have been uniformly guided by similar views.

Indeed, the statement of Mr. Thorpe on this point, is utterly unfounded. The Board has received the clearest and most unequivocal testimony, that from the day the Colony was first planted to the moment of its transfer to the Crown, the Sierra Leone Company and their servants exerted themselves, to the utmost of their power, to promote a spirit of cultivation both among the settlers and the surrounding natives.

Advantages and facilities of various kinds were held out to such Settlers as should fix upon their farms and engage in agriculture. Premiums were annually proposed to them, to encourage the building of farm-houses, the rearing of cattle, pigs, &c. the raising of all kinds of provisions, and the cultivation of articles of exportable produce; which premiums were continued even to the very last year of the Company's connection with the Colony.

An eminent botanist, Dr. Afzelius, who now stands high in the University of Upsal, was employed, at a very considerable expense, in investigating the natural history of Sierra Leone, and in pointing out and rearing useful plants; and under his superintendence a garden of experiment was undertaken; while experimental farms were also set on foot by the Company, and even by the principal servants of the

Company at their own expense, with a view both to stimulate the Colonists, and to instruct them how valuable articles of tropical production might be cultivated.

Besides this, a large collection of valuable plants from the East and West Indies, and the South Seas, was procured from the King's garden at Kew, and sent to Sierra Leone by the Company, accompanied by a regular gardener. And these having been completely destroyed, as well as the garden of experiment, by the French squadron which, in 1794, laid waste the Colony; in the succeeding year, one of the Company's vessels was fitted out, at a large expense, for the sole purpose of repairing this loss, and procuring a farther supply of congenial plants and seeds from the island of St. Thomas, and other places to the south of Sierra Leone.

In short, every thing appears to have been done which the Company could do to promote cultivation; and in whatever degree it has been impeded, the impediments appear not to have arisen from discouragements on the part of the Company or their servants, but from circumstances which were wholly beyond their controul.

The grand impediment which, from first to last, obstructed the views of the Company and of their agents, in respect to the cultivation of the soil, was the indolence of the Settlers, and their indisposition to this species of employment. In letters written at various periods by several most intelligent and respectable observers, this indisposition was stated to be so strong, that if any other mode of sub-

sistence, requiring less bodily exertion, could be found, the pursuit of agriculture was infallibly neglected. Hence the Slave Trade presented an irresistible attraction to many of the Settlers, who quitted the Colony, and fixed themselves in slave factories. Many others, who did not actually become slave traders, preferred the easier life of carrying on a petty trade in rice, camwood, and live stock, with the natives in the adjacent rivers, to the cultivation of their farms. Others rather employed themselves in fishing; a considerable number as mechanics; and many as labourers on the public works.

Under these circumstances, it is not very surprising that the cultivation of land, in a colony the whole population of which, previous to the year 1801, never exceeded 1200 persons of all ages, and, down to the period of the transfer of the Colony, never amounted to 2000, should not have been very extensive.

But notwithstanding the general indisposition of the Colonists to this species of employment, so steadily were the efforts of the Company directed to promote it, that a considerable quantity of land was actually brought into cultivation, and far more progress would doubtless have been made, but for events which the Board would have imagined were too notorious to be overlooked by Mr. Thorpe.

In the year 1800, an effort of some of the Colonists to possess themselves of the supreme power, ended in an insurrection, which, both in its progress and effects, was very unfavourable to agriculture.

In the years 1801 and 1802, the Colony was



twice attacked by a combination of the surrounding natives; and although those attacks, (which were brought on, partly by the zeal the Company had manifested for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, partly by the protection they had afforded to fugitive slaves, partly by the undefined apprehensions which the progress of the Colony had produced in the minds of the native chiefs, and partly by the hope of plunder), were repelled, yet the alarm created by them was such, as to lead to a *total abandonment of cultivation*. The Colonists quitted the country, and took refuge in the town from the dangers which were supposed to await those who might remain dispersed on their farms. In consequence of this state of things, and an idea that the Colony would be evacuated, cultivation was entirely suspended; nor was it renewed until nearly three years afterwards, when the determination of Parliament to maintain the Colony was made known there. Before that time, almost every trace of former cultivation had been obliterated,—a circumstance which will be very intelligible to those who know the rapidity with which, in tropical climates, weeds and brushwood resume the empire of the soil, if the labour of the cultivator be intermitted even for a short time. The period of inaction, also, which thus intervened, produced, both in respect to morals and industry, a very unfavourable effect on the general habits of the Colonists; many of whom became again almost entirely dependent on the Company for their subsistence, and thus added greatly to the colonial expenditure; and not a few of whom migrated to slave factories.

Very considerable efforts were now made by the Company's servants, to restore industry and cultivation, and with more success than, under the peculiarly discouraging circumstances which had taken place, could have been expected. The Colony remained in their hands only three years after it was known there that the result of the parliamentary inquiry was a resolution to maintain it; and in that time, such were the exertions made to repair the utter devastation which had taken place, that when Mr. Thompson arrived at Sierra Leone, in the month of July 1808, he was struck with the general appearance of plenty and prosperity which pervaded it. His words, in a letter to the Secretary of State, Lord Castlereagh, dated 27th July, 1808, are these:—

“ I have the honour to report to your Lordship that I found the appearance of the Colony in many respects more favourable than I had any reason to expect. The quantity of stock of all kinds which fill the streets of the settlement, and the very respectable appearance of the inhabitants, are strong indications of prosperity, and of the increase of domestic industry.”

If the Colony afterwards declined, so that when Mr. Thorpe was there, four years afterwards, the same appearances of plenty and prosperity were no longer visible; this cannot invalidate the above testimony of Mr. Thompson, to whose authority the Board the rather appeals, because Mr. Thorpe himself will admit him to be a competent witness; nor can it be made a charge against the Sierra Leone Company,

who had ceased to govern the Colony; nor against the African Institution, who never have had any share in its government at all. But this point will be considered hereafter.

Mr. Thorpe would insinuate that the Company discouraged cultivation in the Colony, for the sake of the rice trade which they carried on for its supply. The Company did indeed take great pains to supply the Colony with rice and cattle; whenever circumstances like those which have now been mentioned rendered such a supply peculiarly needful. They also made a point of purchasing the rice which was offered for sale by the natives, with a view of encouraging their industry, as well as redeeming the pledge they had given of affording them a market for their commodities; but there was no branch of their trade by which they appear to have sustained heavier losses, than by this. It proved almost uniformly a losing traffic.

7. The next point, as it respects the Sierra Leone Company, to which the attention of the Board has been called, is that of civilization.

"In civilization," Mr. Thorpe observes (p. 4), "they proceeded so far as to send two persons to Teemboo, a few days' walk from Sierra Leone, and educated half a dozen African boys in England, sufficiently for common clerkships in the Colony." He even does not scruple to affirm (p. 49) that civilization was *not attempted* by the Company.

After a thorough investigation of the evidence which relates to this part of the subject, it is due to

the Sierra Leone Company and their agents to say, that the promotion of civilization, both within the Colony and among the surrounding natives of Africa, was not only never lost sight of, but appears to have been strenuously pursued by them during the whole period of their administration.

As early as the month of January 1793, only ten months after the foundation-stone of the Colony was laid, there were three hundred children under instruction at Sierra Leone, and until the Company ceased to govern it, the instruction of children never ceased to be an object of their anxious care. On this object alone they expended, on the average, at Sierra Leone, from 500*l.* to 1000*l.* a year, during the sixteen years they held the Colony; and the education of Africans in England cost them not less than from 3,500*l.* to 4000*l.* As to the effect produced by their efforts, it might be sufficient to refer to the Report of Lord Castlereagh's Committee. It is as follows:—

“Of the progress of education within the Settlement, your Committee have had satisfactory proof laid before them.

“Of the acquirements of the native children, who have been removed to this country for education, your Committee have been able to judge by their own personal observation; and they have traced with peculiar satisfaction, not only the extent of their information, but the striking degree of natural talent which these children have displayed.”

It seems scarcely possible that Mr. Thorpe should have been ignorant of the fact, that from the commencement of the Colony, to the time of its being

transferred to the Crown, the Company had maintained schools there, to which the children of the Colonists were gratuitously admitted; especially as almost every Nova-Scotian youth in the Colony, both male and female, and many Maroons, whom he must have been in the daily habit of seeing, had received in those schools the elementary parts of education.

It seems also difficult to conceive how Mr. Thorpe should have been ignorant of the fact that the Company had gone to very considerable expense in educating natives of Africa, both in Africa and in England. The chiefs around Sierra Leone were earnestly invited, from the first, to send their children to that place for education, and many were sent. The sense of insecurity produced by the destruction of the Colony by the French, in 1794, induced the chiefs for a time to withdraw the children. In no long time, however, their confidence revived; and a school of about forty children, exclusively natives, many of them belonging to persons of influence in the vicinity, was formed in Freetown, at the Company's entire expense, and under the peculiar superintendence of the Governor. From this number, twenty-five were selected, including two Nova Scotians, and brought over to England in 1799; and in 1801 and 1802, about eight more, of whom three or four were Maroons, were also brought over to this country. Here they remained for about six years, at the expense of the Sierra Leone Company aided by the private contributions of its Directors and their immediate friends, until the prevalence of pulmonary complaints among them, which in several instances proved fatal, rendered it expedient to discontinue the plan.

The course of education pursued with these youths, may be best seen by a reference to the following evidence, annexed to the Report just alluded to:

“ Mr. Greaves stated, that he lives at Clapham, and has the care of the Africans now in England for education, as their schoolmaster. He has had other boys under his care, but at present is charged solely with the education of the children in question. They were placed under his care about two years and a half ago. Their ages are from ten to seventeen. He instructs them in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and one of them, who is the most forward, in mensuration. Almost all of them can speak and read English tolerably well. Pains are taken to give them information on general subjects, as history, geography, natural philosophy, and mechanics. He had not observed any inferiority of capacity, allowance being made for the deficiencies under which they laboured when they came under his care. They converse together in their own language, but more frequently in English. Three of the children, having learned to read and write, have been put out to learn boat-building; and it is proposed to place the others as they get forward, to learn different trades. They also learn various useful arts within the school. They retain a strong attachment to their own country; but do not appear impatient to return home till their education is completed, being sensible of the advantages to be derived therefrom. The children shew a great disposition to adopt the principles of the

Christian Religion, and several of them have written letters to their parents in Africa, expressive of their opinions on this subject."

But all these various and expensive efforts to promote civilization in Africa, Mr. Thorpe describes "as giving education to half a dozen African boys." He adds, indeed, (p. 4.) "They proceeded so far in civilization, as," besides educating these half dozen African boys, "to send two persons to Teemboo, a few days' walk from Sierra Leone."

Although Mr. Thorpe chooses to speak thus contemptuously of the journey to Teemboo executed by Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom, no one can peruse its details without a strong impression both of its difficulty and importance. By a reference to the map of their route, it will be seen, that the distance they actually travelled by land, on foot, in going and returning, independent of sea and river carriage, was about 500 miles, in that country a journey of at least from thirty to thirty-five days. They were the first Europeans who ever penetrated so far in that particular direction; and the account of their journey is so interesting, that it is much to be regretted it has not been given to the world\*. But besides the journey to Teemboo, various other journeys and voyages were undertaken in different directions, at the Company's expense, for the express purpose not merely of prosecuting inquiry, but of enlightening the minds of the native chiefs as to their true interests and those of their subjects;

\* See Appendix, B.

inciting and encouraging them to abandon the Slave Trade and engage in Cultivation ; and inducing them to send their children to school at Sierra Leone, or to admit schools among them. And it further appears, that even the trading voyages undertaken, on the part of the Company, from Sierra Leone were usually connected with these objects, and that persevering efforts were made to render the visits of the native chiefs to the Colony subservient to the same ends.

It would swell this Report to a most inconvenient size if the Directors were to attempt to detail the large mass of evidence which has fully satisfied their minds on this point ; which has convinced them that the labours of the Sierra Leone Company to promote the object of African civilization were great and unwearied. But the obstacles with which they had to struggle, among which may be noted, as the most material, the insubordination of the settlers and the temptations and influence of the Slave Trade, were exceedingly powerful, perhaps insuperable ; and it ought not to be imputed as blame, that they did not effect impossibilities. Indeed, in justice to the prudence and discernment of the projectors of the undertaking, it should be remarked, that when the Company was first formed, a confident expectation was entertained of a speedy Abolition ; an expectation which, as far as they were concerned with the administration of the Colony, ended in total disappointment ; as they had to contend with this formidable and pernicious enemy from its very first foundation down to Jan. 1, 1808. On that day the British Slave Trade was abolished on the Coast of Africa ;



and on the same day the Colony of Sierra Leone was transferred to the Crown.

8. In a similar spirit of invidious misrepresentation, Mr. Thorpe complains also of the inattention paid to religion and morality by the Sierra Leone Company. "They had a Church of England clergyman for a few months, and a missionary for a few years, but they had methodist teachers and preachers in abundance." (p. 4.)

Those who have attempted to provide Chaplains for foreign stations will know how to appreciate the difficulty of the task in the case of a Colony like Sierra Leone, which had a character for insecurity and unhealthiness beyond that of most others. In point of fact, great exertions appear to have been made by the Sierra Leone Company to keep up that part of their establishment which was connected with moral and religious instruction; but it was found absolutely impossible to procure a succession of suitable clergymen of the Church of England. And it may serve in some degree to exculpate the Sierra Leone Company from blame in this respect, that although the Colony has been for upwards of seven years in the hands of Government, and although the salary and advantages of the Chaplain have been materially increased since the transfer, no such clergymen have yet been induced to accept the situation.

When the Colony was first projected, two clergymen of the Church of England, of eminent piety, the Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert and the Rev. Melville Horne, were engaged as Chaplains. The former continued

in the service of the Company for about a year and a half, and the latter for about two years. They were forced to quit the Colony chiefly on account of ill health. Their place was supplied for some time by two persons who had gone out as schoolmasters to the Colony (Mr. Jones and Mr. Garvin) until, in 1794, the Rev. Mr. Langlands, a minister of the Church of Scotland, was appointed Chaplain. He died, however, a few weeks after his arrival in the Colony. After again vainly seeking for a Clergyman of the Church of England to fill the situation; in 1795, another Scotch Clergyman was appointed Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Clark, who continued to labour among the Colonists, and particularly among their children, with great assiduity, for nearly three years, when he also died. The Rev. Mr. Brunton, a Missionary, continued to perform the duties of Chaplain after Mr. Clark's death till the year 1801. Since 1802 the office has been filled by a succession of ministers of the Lutheran Church, supplied by the pious care of the Church Missionary Society. And even during the temporary want of any clerical person to perform the public services of Divine Worship, these were always regularly performed, either by the Governor himself, or by some respectable person of his appointment.

The Sierra Leone Company, when every effort to engage clergymen of the Church of England in their service had proved fruitless, would probably have had no objection to employ respectable "Methodist teachers and preachers," could they have been procured, to supply the means of religious instruction to

the Colony. In point of fact, however, it does not appear that they sent out any such preachers themselves. Many of the Settlers had indeed been connected with the Methodist Society, while they were still under the immediate care of Government in Nova Scotia ; and there were among them several of their own colour who officiated as preachers ; but who were not either dependant on the Company, or employed or paid by them. The Methodist Society in England, and other religious Societies, have, it is true, at different times sent Missionaries of their own body to Sierra Leone ; and to these the Company were ever forward to afford their countenance and protection. And although the climate of Africa has proved very adverse to the success of these Missions, many valuable lives having been sacrificed in the attempt to establish them ; and the influence of the Slave Trade has been particularly unfavourable to their progress ; yet much has been done and is now doing by their means.

Mr. Thorpe recommends it to Mr. Wilberforce (p. 40.) to " erect the first church with a steeple and bell that ever was built for our regular worship in Africa." This would seem to imply that no church had ever been erected at Sierra Leone ; whereas the fact, on examination, appears to be, that one of the first erections at Sierra Leone in the year 1792, was that of a temporary church, capable of containing about 350 persons. In 1793 one was erected of more durable materials, capable of containing 750 persons ; but this was destroyed by the French in 1794, who left not a vestige of it remaining. Immediately after their departure, another temporary

place of worship was prepared ; and in 1796 a second church, of a commodious size and structure, capable of containing about 500 persons, was built, in which the regular worship of the Church of England continued to be performed, even after the transfer of the Colony to the Crown. All these occasioned an expense to the Company of several thousand pounds. The church last mentioned may have decayed, or may have been turned to some other use before Mr. Thorpe visited the Colony ; but had the inquiries, which he takes credit to himself for having made, been very minute, he might have learnt that such a structure had once existed, and that it had been transferred to the Crown.

With respect to the grave and important remark, respecting the " steeple" and the " bell," notwithstanding the additional weight and authority which it derives from Mr. Thorpe's public and private character, the Directors think it wholly unnecessary to say more than that they suppose the Sierra Leone Company consulted their finances as to the style of their buildings, and that proper and sufficient means were provided to announce the hour of Divine Worship.

The reason which Mr. Thorpe pretends to assign for the removal of the Rev. Mr. Nylander from the chaplaincy of the Colony is also very incorrectly stated. Here indeed the Directors can speak on the authority of Mr. Nylander himself, who has explained very fully his reasons for this step, in a letter to his employers, the Church Missionary Society, dated in December 1811, which has been laid before

memorandum of assignment, dated on the 19th of June, 1810, more than a year after his account-current had been closed, and when he must have had a full opportunity of ascertaining its correctness.

“ Know all men by these presents, that I John Kizell, of the Colony of Sierra Leone, trader, do make over to the Honourable the Sierra Leone Company, and their assigns, all my right and title to that lot of land numbered two hundred and seventy-eight in the Register and Plan of Town Lots for Freetown, in the Colony aforesaid, with all buildings, out-houses, &c. in the said Lot, to be held by them, the said Company, for their use, until such time as the debt due by me to the said Company be all paid, and no longer.

“ In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this nineteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ten.

(Signed) JOHN KIZELL, L. S.

“ Sealed and delivered in presence of

(Signed) JAMES BECKET,

(Signed) STEPHEN GABBEDON.”

As the Company had then ceased to have any establishment at Sierra Leone, it is scarcely possible that they could have contracted any new debt to Kizell, or to any other person in Africa.

In the face of such a document, it seemed necessary that some probable evidence of the alleged claim should be produced, before even the most deli-

cate idea of equity could require it to be sent to a reference at Sierra Leone : not the slightest shadow of such evidence has hitherto been produced.

Mr. Hamilton, the gentleman mentioned with so much honour by Mr. Thorpe at page 68. of his pamphlet, was the Company's Accountant, and, subsequently to the month of April 1810, their sole agent at Sierra Leone. The assignment of Kizell's house is in Mr. Hamilton's hand-writing. He remained in the Colony for two years beyond the date of that assignment, namely, until the month of June 1812, nearly a year after Mr. Thorpe had arrived in the Colony ; but during the whole of that time he had not been applied to on the part of Kizell for any further settlement of his account. In short, never was any charge more completely falsified than this.

It may be proper to add, that Kizell's assignment of his house had not been put in force by the Company or their agents. Perhaps to their lenity it may be owing that they have been subjected to this extraordinary and groundless imputation of refusing to pay the just demands of a settler who toiled for them.—The Board is but too sensible how tedious this detail must appear, yet it seems necessary in order to render the refutation of Mr. Thorpe's charges complete. This article may serve to illustrate the general complexion of Mr. Thorpe's attack, and the nature of the only difficulty there is in repelling it.

But although Mr. Thorpe specifies only the case of Kizell, he says there were *many* of the settlers who were placed, by the fraudulent conduct of the Com-

pany and their agents, in circumstances equally deplorable. When pressed by the Committee which sat in December 1813, to state the names of the settlers to whom he alluded; in addition to Kizell, he mentioned the name of Reid. This man, however, it appeared, had acted as a Commissary; his accounts, which were confused and complicated, through his own inaccuracy, had been for some time in a train of adjustment, and the balance due to him, having been ascertained, was paid to his attorney.

These were the only cases of *settlers* mentioned by Mr. Thorpe. He complained indeed of great injustice having been done to a person of the name of Campbell, an European. But the injustice in this case was chargeable on the Colonial Jury, who tried his suit against the Company, in the year 1809, and found a verdict in the Company's favour. Mr. Thompson being at that time Governor of the Colony, it could not be alleged that the Company or their agents possessed any undue influence over the colonial courts.

The *only* other case mentioned by Mr. Thorpe, and he was urged to mention all he knew, was that of a Mr. Garell, a slave trader, who had left the Governor and Council of Sierra Leone the executors of his last will. Mr. Thorpe alleged that the Company was possessed of property belonging to this man's heirs, which they would not give up;—whereas the truth appeared to be, that the Company had only recently received a remittance of between five and six hundred pounds on this account, which was immediately placed in the funds, in the names of trustees, to

await the claim of those who might be entitled to receive it.

But notwithstanding the result of this previous inquiry, Mr. Thorpe does not scruple to affirm, that "many of the poor settlers who had toiled for them for years, were left unpaid by the Company."

Mr. Vanniek, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Nicol, whom Mr. Thorpe represents, at p. 68, as men of intelligence and respectability, and who had resided about ten years in the Colony, were questioned on this point. They had heard of no such case. It had been Mr. Vanniek's province to superintend the labourers: he affirmed, that they had always been honourably and regularly paid once a week.

In short, the Board is fully persuaded, that this very serious charge has not even the slightest colour of probability to support it.

10. Mr. Thorpe goes on to assert, that "the Company demanded to be paid by Government for their buildings, and did accordingly receive a large sum for them, although they had previously received 100,000*l.* for the improvement of the Colony."

This statement is also unfounded. By the tenor of the agreement made with his Majesty's Government, on the occasion of the transfer of the Colony, the Company were allowed to retain their *commercial* buildings; all their other buildings being unconditionally surrendered. Fourteen months subsequent to the transfer, namely in the month of February or March, 1809, the commercial affairs of the Company having been brought to a close, Governor



Thompson proposed to purchase the commercial store-house with its appurtenances, the only buildings they had retained: and he accordingly made the purchase at a price which he himself thought reasonable, viz. 2000*l*.

But if Governor Thompson, who had the Act of Parliament transferring the Colony to Government in his hands, and who by that Act was himself constituted the sole judge of what were *public* buildings within the meaning of the Act, and as such to be unconditionally surrendered to the Crown, had not been fully persuaded, that this particular building was fairly and legally the property of the Company, it may be presumed he would not have purchased and paid for it. Would any one who reads in Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet, that the Sierra Leone Company had demanded to be paid for their buildings, and did accordingly receive a large sum, suppose, that the facts of the case were, that they had surrendered to the Crown, *without being paid for them*, all *public* buildings, indeed, all their buildings of every kind, except only their commercial warehouse and its appurtenances, which were reserved to them by special agreement, and which they afterwards sold for 2000*l*.? Nor should it pass unobserved, that this transaction, so reprobated by Mr. Thorpe, was a voluntary act on the part of that very Governor, whom in another place, and for another purpose, the same Mr. Thorpe represents as a model of integrity and honour.

11. The most serious, however, of all Mr. Thorpe's accusations against the Sierra Leone Company, and

their agents, is that of *slave trading*. But in proportion to its seriousness, it appears to have, if possible, still less foundation whereon to rest than any that has yet been adverted to.

The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company had from the very first professed to be hostile to the slave trade. Some of them were among the most distinguished parliamentary advocates of the Abolition. Mr. Thorpe himself complains (p. 6.) that they "trumpeted their abhorrence" of the slave trade, and "fulminated against every person implicated in it;" and it has been seen, that they required a bond from all who entered into their service not to engage in it. No one, indeed, can read their printed Reports, without feeling, that they were the intelligent, determined, and fearless adversaries of this traffic.

Under these circumstances, there would naturally be an eagerness, on the part of those engaged in the slave trade, to expose any deviation from their professed principles, of which the Sierra Leone Company or their agents might have been guilty. But what was the fact?

In the year 1799, the Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, Mr. H. Thornton, introduced a Bill into Parliament for prohibiting the British Slave Trade in the River Sierra Leone, and for 500 miles on each side of it. The proprietors of Bance Island, a great slave factory in that very river, and the whole body of slave merchants of London and Liverpool opposed the Bill, which was, nevertheless, carried triumphantly through the House of Commons, and lost in the House of Lords only by four votes.

They petitioned to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Lords, and leave was given them. The Sierra Leone Company was also admitted to the bar, and evidence on both sides was examined at great length. On this occasion, the witnesses called by the Sierra Leone Company did not scruple, as may be seen by a reference to their testimony, to represent the slave trade, and slave traders, in their true colours of cruelty, rapacity, treachery, and blood. On the other side, several slave traders were examined who were familiar with the Colony; who had frequently visited it; who had resided in its neighbourhood, and who had ample means of knowing all that passed in the Colony, and that entered or went out of it. It would have been of great importance to their cause—and still more such an occasion of triumphing over an adversary, if not of exposing his hypocrisy, as would have been eagerly as well as justly seized—to have shewn, that the Sierra Leone Company, who had brought in this Bill for limiting their trade in slaves, (expressly on the ground of the insuperable bar which it interposed to innocent commerce, to agriculture, to civilization, to improvement of every kind,) had themselves participated in the guilt of that traffic. No such charge, however, was made; nay, no intimation or suspicion to that effect was urged or insinuated by any of the witnesses. Till that period, therefore, it may be presumed that they were guiltless; at least in the absence of all proof of an affirmative kind, this, in their circumstances, is but an equitable presumption.

Again, in 1803-4, a long examination of evidence, adverse to the Sierra Leone Company, took place in a Committee of the House of Commons. But in the course of that examination, although it was admitted on both sides that many settlers and some even of the Company's servants had quitted the Colony to engage in the slave trade, not the slightest imputation was thrown out against the Company, or their Governor and Council, as if they had been concerned either directly or indirectly in carrying it on, or as if they had favoured it in others: no, not even by those settlers whose lands were forfeited in consequence of their embarking in the slave trade, nor yet by any one of those whom Mr. Thorpe represents as among the Company's *best* servants, and against whom his words seem to admit, that they "fulminated," and "trumpeted their abhorrence," and who did not return to the Colony till after the abolition of the slave trade and the transfer of the government to the Crown.

It would obviously have been of great moment to such persons to have exhibited the Sierra Leone Company, and their Governor and Council, (their public accusers), as having sanctioned, by their own example, all that they were stigmatised for having done. Several of these persons had been for some years, (two of them nearly ten), in situations of trust in the Company's service. Not one of them, however, appears to have ever pretended to justify his own delinquency by alleging any slave-trading transaction against his masters. With the strongest temptation to prefer such an accusation, if it were

true, and with the amplest means of knowing its truth, they have never replied to the charges of the Company by a single attempt at recrimination.

But in the face of all this strong body of presumptive evidence, Mr. Thorpe affirms (p. 5), that the servants of the Company "constantly purchased the natives;" and he adds in a note, that this fact was "given in evidence on oath before Governor Thompson and Chief Justice Thorpe."—The Directors have taken great pains thoroughly to investigate this extraordinary charge. They have considered with care the information which was obtained upon it from Mr. Thorpe himself, in January 1814, by the Committee of Sierra Leone Inquiry, of which Mr. Brougham was chairman; and they are now enabled to state the facts of the case.

In November 1807, an American Slave Captain, of the name of Bradford, attempted, in the river Sierra Leone, about five miles above the Colony, to kidnap eleven natives, who had come on board his vessel to trade. He succeeded in securing five; two were drowned in the scuffle, and four escaped. Dreading the vengeance of the natives, Captain Bradford instantly took refuge in the harbour of Sierra Leone, intending to sail with the next tide. The native chiefs, however, reached the Colony, with the news of this outrage, in time to put it in Governor Ludlam's power to call the ruffian to account. His legal right to interfere was indeed extremely doubtful. He nevertheless ordered the Captain to be seized, and a full examination to be instituted. Had the jurisdiction of the charter of justice extended to the

place where the outrage had been committed, he might possibly have been convicted of murder. But under the peculiar circumstances of the case, all that Governor Ludlam felt that he could properly do was to require the Captain to make satisfaction for the outrage to the utmost demand of African law, or, in case of his refusal, to abandon him and his vessel to the retaliation of the natives. The Captain agreed to the former alternative. The five persons who had been kidnapped were instantly set at liberty. About 200*l.* worth of goods, all that he had remaining on board, were brought on shore, and delivered to the injured natives; besides which, ten of his slaves were taken out of the hold of his vessel, and landed in the Colony.

In satisfying the demands of the natives, the simplest course for Governor Ludlam to pursue would have been to deliver over these ten slaves to the native chiefs, who would have willingly accepted them in satisfaction of their claims.

Nevertheless, as the slave trade had not yet ceased, there was but too much reason to apprehend that these poor creatures would be again sold, (as, according to *African* law, they might lawfully be, *before* domestication), if they were given at once into the hands of the native chiefs. To prevent this, and to secure at the same time still further benefit to the rescued slaves, Mr. Ludlam proposed to bind them as apprentices for fourteen years to any respectable Colonists who would pay to the Native Chiefs their customary value, which, according to their own laws, the Chiefs were compellable to receive, instead of

the persons of the slaves. Of the ten slaves who had been taken from on board, four, on account of peculiar circumstances \*, were unconditionally liberated, with the consent of the Native Chiefs. Governor Ludlam's proposal was accepted, with respect to the remaining six, who were children: and they were accordingly bound as apprentices; two of them to Mr. Alexander Smith, two to Mr. George Nicol, and two to Mr. James Reid. They were thus rescued from the miseries of the Middle Passage, in a vessel the hold of which was not more than three feet and a half in height, and on board of which, though only forty-nine tons burthen, were actually stowed sixty-four slaves.

How stands the case, then, with respect to these individuals? They exchanged slavery through life, for a servitude which scarcely extended beyond their non-age; the cruel bondage of America or the West Indies, for an apprenticeship of the same nature with that to which free children are liable in England. They exchanged a hopeless absence from their country and their friends, for the power of revisiting both: they exchanged the extinction of all civil rights, for the possession of every right which the law of England, in England itself, would give.

Such is the extent of the injury that was done to these poor natives. On the other hand, Governor Ludlam secured to the injured parties, what they conceived a full compensation. He punished in some degree a flagitious offender: he raised the

\* Two of these, from their very diseased state, could not have survived their miseries, had they remained in the vessel.

credit of the Colony for equal justice and prompt redress; and he prevented probably a cruel and bloody retaliation upon the first American, even though unoffending, who should have come within the reach of native vengeance.

One hundred dollars, indeed, were paid to the Native Chiefs, for the redemption of each of these six children, who became the apprentices of the persons paying the money, being bound to them by regular indentures, under the guardianship of the Governor and Council, and under the full protection of British Law. And this transaction—in the strictest sense of the word, a redemption of natives of Africa out of slavery to be made free—is proved by his own examination, in January 1814, to be the same which Mr. Thorpe would stigmatise as the slave trade! The Directors cannot dismiss this case, without calling upon the meeting to consider the fair inferences to be drawn from such facts being made the ground of such an accusation.

But, according to Mr. Thorpe, the servants of the Company not only “constantly purchased the natives, but they worked them themselves without pay, and hired them to others for pay.”—This, when fully examined, proves to be no more than this; that they redeemed natives of Africa from slavery, who were bound to them as apprentices for a limited time.—But to what extent was this done?

The Directors have had an opportunity of examining an authentic copy of the register of apprentices, in the Colony of Sierra Leone, on the 1st of January 1808, the day on which the Colony was transferred



to the Crown. The whole number on that day was thirty-eight. Of these, however, twenty-seven were the children of settlers, bound either by their parents or guardians, for periods varying from two to twelve years, but chiefly from three to seven years. The remaining eleven only were natives, whose indentures were precisely of the same tenor with those of the children of the settlers. Of these eleven, six were the poor creatures who were rescued, as has been already related, from the hold of an American slave ship. Of the remaining five, two were bound for four years, one for six years, one for seven, and one, a young girl, for thirteen years.

And this is the state of things, which Mr. Thorpe has chosen to represent as a monstrous system of oppression. "*Their servants constantly purchased the natives, worked them themselves without pay, and hired them to others for pay!!*"

12. But the evil, according to Mr. Thorpe, did not stop here. The servants of the Company "suffered slaves to be brought in and taken out of the Colony, and allowed them to be seized and delivered to their masters when they sought protection." The Directors have received the most satisfactory proof, that the Sierra Leone Company and their servants proceeded uniformly on a directly opposite system; and that they experienced much trouble and inconvenience, and even encountered dangers of a very formidable kind, from their practical adherence to the principle of affording their protection to fugitives, who sought it. In point of fact, it appears,

that all slaves who sought shelter in the Colony were protected, to the utmost power of the Governor and Council ; nor has one instance been discovered of protection having been refused to a slave who claimed it.

It would be too much to expect, that in a Colony which touched, on all sides, on limits where the slave trade was authorized and protected, both by British and African law, no persons had entered the Colony, and quitted it again, who had been slaves in their own country before they entered it, and who continued to be so after they had quitted it. Persons were not interrogated, when they entered the Colony, or when they left it voluntarily, as to whether they were bond or free. It is enough, that the Government of the Colony was always prompt to guard from lawless violence, those who sought its protection. They could not have *invited* the resort of fugitives to the Colony, without giving their neighbours what would have seemed just cause of war against them.

Neither is it meant to be asserted, that no persons have ever been forcibly seized within the limits of the Company's jurisdiction, and delivered to their masters, and even carried to slave factories and sold. Instances of this kind have been suspected by the Governor and Council, where proof of the fact could not be obtained. But it clearly appears, that no such instances were permitted. On the contrary, several were discovered, tried, and severely punished.

The injustice of the whole of this charge has been fully demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the Directors.

13. The Company is next accused of having permitted their store-keeper "to supply the slave factories and slave ships, and to feed the trade in every possible way."—Mr. Thorpe cannot be ignorant that the Colony of Sierra Leone was originally situated in the midst of slave traders; that, with the exception of its own narrow limits, there was not a spot in western Africa, during the entire period of the Company's connection with it, where that trade was not carried on, nor a single European or African trader, or even an African Chief, who was not engaged in it; and that, therefore, it was absolutely impossible to have a single commercial transaction of any kind which might not contribute, in some way more or less direct, to feed the slave trade. If a Native Chief brought a ton of camwood, or of rice, to the Colony, the goods which he purchased, with the proceeds of its sale, might be employed, and doubtless, in many cases, were employed, in slave-trading transactions; nor is it very obvious, how even Mr. Thorpe's enlightened vigilance could have prevented this.

Mr. Thorpe saw Sierra Leone some years after the slave trade had been proscribed in that river and its vicinity; and when there was comparatively little difficulty in avoiding an intercourse with slave traders, who, indeed, were then obliged to hide themselves from justice. But, during the whole period of the Company's administration, the slave trade was legal even to British subjects; who retained a right, under the Act of Parliament, to come into the very harbour of Sierra Leone, for wood, water, and refreshments.

But this, instead of being any advantage, was felt by the Company as one of the main difficulties with which they had to contend; a difficulty so great as to induce them to make that attempt in Parliament, in 1799, which has been already mentioned, to procure a prohibition of the slave trade in the river Sierra Leone, and its vicinity, and of which any one would have supposed it impossible that Mr. Thorpe could have been ignorant, if he had not chosen to designate this intercourse, which was necessary to the very existence of the Colony, and of which the effects were unavoidable, as "a feeding of the slave trade."

14. But a heavier charge, if possible, still remains: "Even in Mr. Ludlam's last administration of the government," Mr. Thorpe states (p. 5), "two cargoes of Slaves, taken from the Americans, were publicly sold at twenty dollars a head."

The occurrence to which Mr. Thorpe here refers took place, (and it is difficult to suppose that he could be ignorant of this,) after the Sierra Leone Company had ceased to govern the Colony. But besides this general exception against grounding on the transaction an accusation of the Sierra Leone Company, Mr. Thorpe has, as usual, grossly misrepresented the facts of the case, and altogether mistated its general nature and character:

Certain Negroes, in number 167, taken by his Majesty's ship *Derwent*, Captain Parker, in two American vessels, trading for slaves contrary to the laws of the United States, were brought to Sierra Leone in

March or April 1808. No Vice-Admiralty Court had yet been instituted, nor had the Orders in Council respecting captured Negroes reached the Colony. But these Slaves having been brought to Freetown by Captain Parker, it became necessary for Governor Ludlam to provide for them, even though they had not yet been "*condemned* to his Majesty's use." The case was perfectly novel. Governor Ludlam had no precedent, nor any analogy to guide him, in the course he should pursue, excepting the provisions of the Abolition Act of 1807; and he therefore, humanely and pardonably at least, determined on proceeding according to the spirit of that Act, which enacts that Slaves taken under it, and condemned to his Majesty, shall either be enlisted into his Majesty's sea and land forces, or bound apprentices for a term of years; and that certain bounties on such Slaves shall be payable to the captors, according as the case may be. Adhering to the spirit of this enactment, Governor Ludlam took forty of the ablest men into the service of Government, providing them with proper food and clothing, and promising them their full liberty at the end of three years. The remainder, consisting of eighteen men, fourteen women, and ninety-five children, he proposed to place as apprentices among the Colonists of Sierra Leone, for periods varying according to the age of the parties;—persons of eighteen years old and upwards being bound only for three years, and those who were less than eighteen being bound for a proportionably longer time. Public notice of his

purpose having been given, 355 applications were immediately made. Many of these applicants Mr. Ludlam knew to be utterly unfit, from their poverty or their profligacy, to have natives entrusted to them as apprentices; but he conceived that almost all, if not all, those who were most objectionable, would be cut off at once by a measure which would appear impartial, and could therefore give no offence. He required that every one whom he permitted to receive any of these natives as apprentices should pay twenty dollars for each; and he resolved that this sum should be given to the captors, in lieu of the bounty of forty pounds for each man, thirty pounds for each woman, and ten pounds for each child, which they would have received from Government, had there been a Court of Vice-Admiralty in the Colony, in which the captives could have been prosecuted to condemnation.

He deemed it reasonable in itself, and strictly conformable with the principles of the Abolition Act, which allowed a bounty to all captors of Slaves regularly condemned, that the captors in this case should derive some benefit from the seizure they had made; and as the Slaves had not been regularly condemned in any Court of Vice-Admiralty, the captors, he conceived, could have no claim to the remuneration held out by the Act.

In requiring this payment, however, Mr. Ludlam's *main* object appears to have been not to reward the captors; that was merely incidental; but to select the masters. In this point of view, the plan perfectly succeeded: more than two hundred applications were immediately withdrawn; and Governor Ludlam then

placed the captured Negroes among those who remained, and who were the most respectable of the Colonists, telling them distinctly, that as soon as indentures could be prepared, the natives would be bound to them in the usual form, under the guardianship of the Governor and Council. The nature of apprenticeships was well understood by the Settlers. Many of their own children were apprentices: and as to possessing any other right over those natives, than that which sprung from the known relation of master and apprentice, no idea of the kind appears for a moment to have been entertained; and if it had, the operation of the laws relative to apprentices, which were the laws of England, would doubtless have corrected it.

Governor Ludlam, in writing on this subject, makes the following observations; and as he is now no more, and the charge is one which affects his memory, it is fair he should be heard.

"I thought the most impartial and effectual mode of proceeding would be to require a payment of twenty dollars for each apprentice. This plan excluded at once a great number of young people who, on that single account, were unfit to be entrusted with the care of a native child, and a great number of characters in more advanced years who would hope to support themselves by the labour of the native, though he at the same time would be poorly clothed and poorly fed. I am not even yet aware of any objection to the plan which counterbalanced its advantages; nor can I conceive in what way, whether it be advantageous or not, it can be construed into

a sale of Slaves. It was the act of a public and authorised body (the Governor and Council of Sierra Leone, acting in the name and by authority of his Majesty), not for the private benefit of the individuals of that body, but for public purposes. The purpose to which the money was applied by the Governor and Council, was the rewarding of the exertions of the captors; a principle which seemed to me sanctioned by the Abolition Act. However, as this mode of application has been disapproved, I will not contend for its expediency. I will only state, that this point is totally distinct from the question, whether Slaves were sold. I do not urge all this as meaning to contend that Slaves were never allowed to be purchased, or, as I must call it, *redeemed*, in this Colony. But I contend that *these* were neither purchased nor redeemed. The proceeding in its principle appeared to me similar to the plan adopted at home for preventing the introduction of improper persons into practice as attorneys, &c. An Act passed about 1793, laying a tax of 100*L*. on every clerk who should thenceforward be articulated; the ability to pay this sum being reckoned the most unobjectionable rule by which to regulate the exclusion of improper characters. Precisely the same was my motive here; for I cannot perceive that the principle is altered by its being the object to select the master in the one case and the apprentice in the other."

The preceding statements, which have been given more in detail on account of the importance of the subject, and in justice to an able and excellent, though



somewhat speculative man, now no more, the late Governor Ludlam, will shew what was the real nature of this transaction, to which, unquestionably, there are solid objections on the score of irregularity and inexpediency; although it is a gross and palpable misrepresentation to call it a sale of Slaves.

This affair took place in March or April, 1808. The intelligence reached England about the end of the following July. On the 3d of August, Mr. Macaulay, in a private letter to Governor Ludlam, thus expressed himself:—"The 20 dollars ought not to have been given to the captors. It ought to have formed a fund for the benefit of the Negroes themselves. It tells ill, because it looks something like a sale."

It is impossible to state the real merits of this case more fairly and impartially than it is stated by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, in a letter to Governor Thompson, dated 20th October, 1808, an extract from which will be found annexed\*.

Mr. Thorpe would insinuate (p. 16), that this transaction had been "concealed" by the Sierra Leone Company and the African Institution. The truth, on the contrary, is, that when intelligence of it was first received, which was in July 1808, steps were immediately taken by the African Institution to protect the Slaves that had been landed at Sierra Leone from any claims which their American owners might prefer against them. The circumstances of the case were, with that view, fully stated to Sir John Nicholl,

\* See Appendix, C.

then the King's Advocate, Dr. Arnold, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Stephen; who met in consultation upon it, and advised that, if the American owners should bring the matter before the Court of Admiralty, the Negroes themselves should appear as parties, either by themselves or their attorney, before the Court, in order to implead their right to freedom; and that application should also be made to the American Government on the subject. Both these steps were taken. A power of attorney was obtained from all the liberated Slaves, to be used in case of need; and an application was made on the subject to the American Government, in which the facts of the case, even that of the apprenticing of the Slaves, were distinctly stated. This application was favourably received. Indeed, the reply of the American Government, accompanied by the opinion of their own Attorney-General, was of the most satisfactory kind, and having been submitted to the prize appeal court, during the pleadings in the well-known case of the *Amedie*, was made one ground of the momentous decision which was pronounced by the Court on that occasion. By this decision the subjects of any state which does not sanction the slave trade by its municipal laws, are incapacitated from prosecuting in a British Court, a claim for the restoration of property embarked in such illegal trade\*.

The proceedings which were instituted in the

\* See, for a full report of this judgment, the Fifth Report of the African Institution, p. 11.

Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone respecting these one hundred and sixty-seven captives; with the view of establishing the strange allegation of their having been sold by Mr. Ludlam as slaves, and to which proceedings Mr. Thorpe refers, as his proof, appear to have been, indeed, most extraordinary. Mr. Thompson, the then Governor, was also at once *Prosecutor, Judge, and Counsel*. A number of witnesses were subjected to examinations, and cross examinations, all conducted by himself; and to this body of what is called evidence, were subjoined several letters of Mr. H. Thornton and Mr. Macaulay, (some brief extracts of which appear in Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet) as proving that these one hundred and sixty-seven natives of Africa were sold, dealt with, and treated as *slaves* by the Sierra Leone Company and their agents. The whole forms a singular mass of heterogeneous materials, and manifests an entire disregard of the plainest rules of evidence, law, and equity.

Having alluded to the attempt which Mr. Thorpe has made, by some brief extracts from letters of Mr. H. Thornton and Mr. Macaulay, to stigmatize these gentlemen as favouring a trade in Slaves, it is hardly necessary to say, that the attempt has wholly failed: The Directors, however, are saved the trouble of entering on this part of Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet, by a letter which Mr. Macaulay himself has published, addressed to the Royal President of this Institution, and which cannot be read without a full conviction of the false and calumnious nature of the imputation, and of the utter contempt of all the received rules of fair and

honourable dealing, by which alone any colour of probability could, even for a moment, have been given to it.

15. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, Mr. Thorpe states, on the surrender of the Colony to Government, "formed (*to uphold their old influence*) a Society called the African Institution."—It will not be very easy for Mr. Thorpe to persuade the public, that the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, whose names have been already mentioned, could have any *selfish* end in contributing to form the African Institution. But in truth, the only Directors of that Company whose names are to be found in the list of the Directors of the African Institution, besides those of the ever-to-be-lamented Mr. Henry Thornton and Mr. Granville Sharp, are, Lord Teignmouth, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Babington, Mr. T. F. Forster, and Mr. Clarkson; names too well known, and too deservedly dear to the friends of Africa, to have been excluded from the management of any institution which had the good of Africa for its object. But these persons formed only a small proportion of the managing body, which consists of a President, twenty-two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and thirty-six Directors. There was not, therefore, between the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company and of the African Institution, the identity which Mr. Thorpe affirms to have existed. And with respect to the absurd imputation against the Directors of both Institutions, of "securing the trade of the Colony to their managing

Secretary ;" by what means was it in the power of either the one or the other to do this, even if they had entertained any such design? Did they convey to their Secretary any facilities beyond what his own knowledge of the trade of Africa and of the Colony gave him? Does it appear that a single reference was ever made to either body on the subject, or a single question asked or agitated, or a single resolution promulged or adopted by them; in short, that they ever interfered, either directly or indirectly, in the matter? The most distinct and unqualified negative is now given to these questions.

Before the subject of the Sierra Leone Company is closed, the Board is desirous of expressing, in the strongest terms, its deep impression of the laudable and disinterested views which first led to the formation of that Company, and by which its conductors appear to have been uniformly actuated. And although this vindication of their conduct may appear in some degree foreign to the objects of the African Institution, yet, to rescue from unmerited reproach those who have acted so conspicuous a part in forwarding the great measure of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, is due to the general character of that sacred cause, and is no more than an act of justice towards those who preceded them in their labours.

Of the causes which led to the failure of the Sierra Leone Company, the Board has already spoken at large in its First Report. Those who wish to see them more fully and satisfactorily deve-

loped; may consult the Reports of the Sierra Leone Company generally, but particularly those of 1794 and 1804, the last containing the evidence of the Directors of the Company which was laid before Parliament. They were there stated to be, the want of a sufficient power and authority in the Government of the Colony, during the first eight years of its existence, combined with the unfavourable character of the Settlers; the insufficiency of its force to check the encroachments, or discourage the aggressions, of the Natives; the unhealthiness incident to all new settlements in tropical climates, which operated in various ways to keep the Company's establishment in a low and inadequate state; to which were added the too great limitation of the expenditure of the Company, in consequence of the heavy losses they had sustained; the inexperience of the conductors of the undertaking in the earlier periods of the settlement; but above all, the long continuance both of the war and the slave trade, by which the expectations reasonably entertained by the founders of the Colony, on its first settlement, were fatally disappointed.

But besides these great obstacles to the success of the Company, it ought to be considered, that they were not merely a trading company, but that they were burthened, during the first eight years, with the entire charge of the erection, government, and protection of the Colony; of its civil, judicial, and military administration; of its medical care, and public instruction, and public works; and, during the

remaining eight years, were only partially aided in bearing these burdens by the parent state.

Few places appear to have met with greater discouragements. The Colony was frequently threatened, and twice actually attacked, by the natives: once it was ruined by the French: twice, its own people broke out into insurrection. When extensive commerce was carried on, the French destroyed it. When cultivation flourished, the African chiefs first drew away the native labourers, and then drove the settlers from their farms. Even when exempt from actual violence, the turbulence of the settlers, the want of fortifications, and the policy of the natives, kept the Colony in a state of disquietude and alarm. The heavy losses which the Company sustained obliged it to pursue a rigid economy, which was unfavourable both to internal improvement and external influence, and consequently to the general credit of the settlement. Owing partly to this cause, and partly to the climate, the establishment was often insufficient for the most necessary purposes. Little, therefore, comparatively, could be done to cultivate an intercourse with the neighbouring nations, or to extend the knowledge of the interior. The main hindrance, however, to the Company's success unquestionably arose from the slave trade, which ceased, as has been already observed, to be legal even in the river Sierra Leone, and to British subjects, only on the day on which the Company ceased to administer the affairs of the Colony. "It created a strong and active interest in Africa, which was

opposed to that of the Sierra Leone Company, and was industriously employed in misrepresenting their designs, and exciting jealousy in every quarter. To this cause may be traced much of the ill-will and consequent hostility of the natives, and of the turbulence and insubordination of the colonists. It rendered the European traders, in particular, the natural enemies of the Company. It supplied the chiefs with the means of acquiring British articles, without their being at the trouble of collecting produce, or cultivating the soil. It interested the leading men in the maintenance of those superstitious practices which, while they formed a great obstacle to civilization, were, *on the coast*, the main source from which the slave trade obtained its victims. It gave to the slave factories a great superiority over the Company, even in the traffic in produce, inasmuch as they were able to conduct a trade, both in produce and Slaves, at nearly the same expense at which a trade in Slaves alone could be carried on. It afforded to the slave factor an advantage in respect to the means of recovering debts; as he had only to seize and sell his debtor, or the family or even townsmen of the debtor, in order to secure himself against loss. He could, therefore, generally gain some preference over the Company, even in the produce market, by affording larger credits to the natives. The slave trade also rendered the Africans, especially those who lived near the coast, and within the influence of slave ships and slave factories, drunken, idle, and ferocious; and by the high profits which it presented, it tempted many of the settlers, and even



some of the Company's officers, either to embark in the service of slave factories, or to enter on their own account into that traffic \*." And when, to all those circumstances are added, the losses and interruptions caused by an unintermitted state of maritime warfare; and the peculiar unfitness of the main body of the people to persevere under the difficulties, and contend against the dangers, of a new settlement; the wonder will be, that the Colony existed, rather than that it did not flourish.

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The Board proposes now to consider those parts of Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet which have a more immediate reference to the proceedings of the African Institution.

At pages 8 and 9, Mr. Thorpe states the general objects of the African Institution, and then proceeds to criticise their Reports.—Here it will be proper to make one preliminary remark: The Directors of the African Institution, relying on the liberality of the public, had calculated on obtaining funds which would enable them to pursue with vigour the various objects they were desirous of promoting. In this respect they have been disappointed. Mr. Thorpe, indeed, represents the Society as rich. But the fact is, that the contributions they have received have proved wholly inadequate to undertakings which would necessarily involve a large permanent expense. Their whole receipts, of every description, from the first formation of the Society, to the 31st Dec. 1814, have amounted to only 9850*l*;

\* Sierra Leone Company's Report, 1804, p. 18.

and their annual income, exclusive of donations, has not quite reached 400*l*.

Under these circumstances it became necessary to direct their attention, in the first place, to such objects as were at the same time the most urgent and the most compatible with the state of their funds. And the question, as it respects the conduct of the Directors, is not so much what they may have left undone, as whether they have advantageously employed the limited means they possessed. Their first duty obviously was, to watch over the execution of the laws recently enacted for abolishing the slave trade; to endeavour to prevent their infraction; to suggest the means of rendering them more effectual; and to promote the abolition of this trade by Foreign Powers. It was only in the degree in which these objects were accomplished, that a rational hope could be entertained of civilizing Africa. These objects, however, have proved to be of sufficient magnitude and difficulty to engross a large share of the attention of the Directors, and to absorb a considerable portion of the funds entrusted to them. Many of the measures, however, that have been taken with this view being of a preventive kind, are precisely of that description, which, however extensive in their operation and beneficial in their effects, are the least likely to attract the notice of superficial or prejudiced observers. It is only by such persons, that it can ever be doubted whether the expense which is incurred in promoting either the efficacy of our own abolition laws, or the abolition of the slave trade by Foreign Powers, has a direct and most mo-

mentous bearing on the civilization of Africa. Had the Institution confined itself to this single point, it would still have been the best benefactor of that oppressed continent. Whether the efforts of the Directors to promote these objects have been well directed, and whether the sums expended with that view have been beneficially employed, they must leave it to the Subscribers to determine. But it will hardly be said by any one who understands this question, and who compares its state in 1815 with what it was in 1807; who reflects on the unqualified condemnation which the slave trade has received from the assembled powers of Europe; on its total abolition by every maritime state, excepting Spain and Portugal; on the liberation of Northern Africa from this desolating scourge, even for the too protracted period of eight years, to which these powers have limited its duration;—who reflects that in Great Britain the slave trader, who, not many years ago, had power and influence sufficient to sway even the decisions of Parliament, is now branded as a felon; and that much has been done in a variety of ways to repress his illicit commerce, and also to lay a foundation for improving the condition of our wretched colonial bondsmen: it will hardly be said by any one who reflects on these changes, and is capable of estimating their value, that they would have been dearly purchased, if the whole sum of 9850*l.* with which the Directors have been entrusted, had been expended in securing them. By looking, however, into their past Reports, it will be seen, that it was only a part of their small funds which was so expended, and that many other objects of great

though subordinate importance, have likewise engaged their attention \*.

But the Directors will proceed to consider Mr. Thorpe's specific charges against the Institution.

1. First, the alleged neglect of education.

The following is the simple statement of facts on this subject :—

A variety of Resolutions, empowering Mr. Ludlam to erect schools of different kinds, reached the Colony, some of them a short time before, and others soon after, he had resigned the Government of it into the hands of Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Ludlam, to whom these resolutions and requests of the Society, on the subject of education, were addressed, and on whose active co-operation the Institution had confidently relied, on resigning his situation, transferred also to his successor every letter and paper, and every article he had received from the Directors. In a letter from Mr. Ludlam to Mr. Macaulay, he states,—“ My business relating to the African Institution I have given over to Governor Thompson, as the only person whose situation enables him to forward their views in this Colony.” Governor Thompson acknowledges this to have been the case, in letters dated the 11th Nov. 1808, and March 6th and 28th, 1809; but the only remark he makes on the whole of the important subject of education, thus committed to his superintendence, is *an intimation that he did not intend to fulfil some resolution of the Board on that subject.*

\* See Appendix, D.

And, in point of fact, it must be confessed that he does not appear to have taken one step to carry into effect the wishes of the Institution in this respect. Even of three African Youths, on whose education as schoolmasters the Institution had bestowed considerable expense, and whose salaries as teachers Government had undertaken to pay, two were employed in other lines of service. But had there even been a sufficiency of schoolmasters in the Colony, it would still have been vain to hope for much good from their labours, without the vigilant controul and encouraging countenance of persons in superior stations.

On the accession of Captain Columbine to the Government, the Directors furnished him with a transcript of all the papers that had been already forwarded to Sierra Leone, with a request that he would carry their wishes into effect. This he promised to do. Having lost the frigate he commanded before he reached the Colony, and having in consequence of that loss returned to England without visiting Sierra Leone, so much time was unavoidably consumed that he did not actually commence his administration until February 1810, more than a year later than the time when it was intended the change should have taken place.

The ill health and death of Mrs. Columbine ; the death of Mr. Ludlam ; the long and severe illness of Captain Columbine himself, which ended in his death also ; all occurring within the space of little more than a year from the time of his arrival in the Colony, sufficiently account for the little progress made in

giving effect, during his government, to the wishes of the Institution on the subject of instruction. It clearly appears, however, that much more was done in promoting that object during the administration of Captain Columbine than in that of his predecessor; and it was in allusion to that particular period, viz. the year 1810, that the Fifth Report stated that there were between two and three hundred children enjoying the benefit of education at Sierra Leone.

As soon as the untoward circumstances that have been mentioned were known, and it was also known that Colonel Maxwell was named successor to Captain Columbine, urgent representations were sent to him on this subject; and he was furnished with all the resolutions that had already been passed upon it, and empowered to institute schools at the Society's expense, not only at Sierra Leone, but at Senegal and Goree.

It is certainly true that these various efforts of the Directors to promote the work of education in Africa have not led to the institution of schools at the Society's expense. Down to the period of Governor Maxwell's accession to the Government, the causes of this failure have been already mentioned.

That gentleman has shewn a strong solicitude to promote the work of instruction; but he has not thought it necessary, although empowered to do so, to employ the funds of the Institution in that work; as the Government were willing to bear the expense of all the schools he has yet had it in his power to institute; and as, besides this, Missionary Societies

have engaged zealously in the work of education in Africa, and have thereby rendered the application of the funds of the Institution to this object less necessary.

Perhaps indeed it must be admitted, that societies of this description are, on the whole, better adapted to pursue the object of education than a Society constituted as is the African Institution.

It requires a more than ordinary degree of zeal and strength of principle to induce persons, duly qualified for the office of teachers of youth, to devote themselves to that work in a climate so unfavourable to health, and in a situation where they must submit to many privations of comfort, with little or no expectation of those pecuniary advantages which tempt the generality of men to encounter such risks, and make such sacrifices. But men possessing the requisite zeal and strength of principle for such a service naturally enlist themselves at once under some one of those societies which conduct religious missions, and under whose wing they may labour in the capacity of Missionaries, preaching to adults as well as educating youth.

The Institution is precluded by its fundamental rules from undertaking religious missions. The difficulty, however, of finding proper persons in this country willing to go out to conduct schools in Africa, who are not disposed to add the character of missionary to that of teacher, is found to be very great. And on this ground the Directors have even doubted whether they ought not to resign the direct

and immediate pursuit of this object to those religious societies by whom it has been already zealously and successfully prosecuted.—This was a difficulty which, though it has proved very formidable, was not distinctly anticipated at first. But it was not the only difficulty. The low state of the Society's funds was a bar to extended efforts of this description. The salary allowed to a male and a female teacher lately sent out, Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, (incorrectly stated by Mr. Thorpe to have been procured by Mr. William Allen, and placed on the colonial establishment,) amounts to not more than 300*l.* a year; yet this of itself nearly absorbs the whole annual income of a Society pronounced by Mr. Thorpe to be very rich (p. 66.)

Mr. Thorpe observes in a note (p. 10), that the Second and Third Reports state that the resolutions of the Board on the subject of education had been carried into effect. These Reports did doubtless assume that those resolutions *would* be carried into effect, there being no reason at that time to suppose that the Governor would prove unfriendly to their designs. In a subsequent Report (Sixth, p. 29.) it is distinctly stated that they had not been carried into effect. The weight of Mr. Thorpe's charge (p. 15), and any supposed inconsistency in the different Reports are thus done away. It was not extraordinary that the Directors should express their disappointment not to have had more specific details to produce with respect to African improvement; because they had repeatedly urged on subsequent Gover-



nors their hope and request, that every attention might be paid to this important object. It would not have been their fault if not one school had been set on foot in the Colony; and even in that case they would have been able most satisfactorily to answer Mr. Thorpe's charge. Their letters and offers of providing for the expense of schools are, of themselves, irrefragable proofs of their having *attempted* civilization. And, indeed, whatever has been effected either by the Government, or by Missionary Societies, on their earnest recommendation, may reasonably be considered as in a great degree owing to their efforts.

Mr. Thorpe vehemently charges the Directors with deluding a liberal nation, because they stated, as he alleges, in their Second Report, made in the month of March 1808, that "a chance will be afforded for restoring some of the captured Negroes to their connections; and some, having enjoyed the advantage of instruction in agriculture, and other useful arts in the Colony, may possibly be beneficially employed in disseminating in other parts of Africa the knowledge which they have thus acquired." (p. 11.)

"These poor creatures," he adds, "never received any instruction; nor was an effort ever made to restore them to their connections and country."

But Mr. Thorpe has not quoted the Report fairly. The following is the whole of the passage from which he has carved this extract:—

"His Majesty's Government has further resolved

to appoint a Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone, for the purpose of giving more complete effect to the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade.

“The appointment of such a judicature is particularly desirable at the present moment, as otherwise all the vessels which may be seized under the Abolition Act must be carried to the West Indies for adjudication; a course which would be attended with a cruel protraction of the confinement on ship-board of the captured Slaves. At Sierra Leone, it will also be much easier than it would be in the West Indies, to dispose of these persons agreeably to the humane provisions of the Act of Parliament.

“The system of free labour being already established at Sierra Leone, the introduction of any number of Negroes into that Colony, whether on the footing of free labourers or as apprentices for a limited period, could be attended with none of those inconveniences which, it is alleged, would flow from it in our West-India Islands, and which, as the Committee understand, are deemed to be so considerable as to make it a question whether many of the persons already liberated in the West Indies, under the operation of the Abolition Act, shall not be sent back to Sierra Leone. A *better* chance will also be thus afforded for restoring some of the captured Slaves to their former connections; and some of *them after* having enjoyed the advantage of instruction in agriculture, and in other useful arts at the Colony, may possibly be beneficially employed in disseminating in other parts of Africa, the knowledge which they *may* have thus acquired.

"The Subscribers will readily perceive, that a very wide field is here opened for their benevolent exertions; nor can the Committee contemplate it without an ardent desire that *the funds of the Institution may be so enlarged as to enable them to embrace the opportunity which will in that case be afforded them of conferring a signal benefit on Africa.*"

Was there then any thing so very unreasonable or delusive in this anticipation? The Directors of the African Institution have deeply regretted that it should not have been more effectually realized. Why it has not has already been in part explained. Much more, however, has been done, even in the way of education, than Mr. Thorpe seems willing to allow. And with respect to the return of the captured Slaves to their own country, the Board has only to refer to an official report made to the Secretary of State by Governor Columbine and Mr. Dawes, in 1810, in which is the following passage:—

"Some of these vessels (the captured slave ships) had not yet received their Slaves on board; but their capture had, nevertheless, deprived the slave dealers of the means of carrying off about 2800 Africans; and out of other captures, 471 men, 196 women, and 421 children have been released from slavery.

"A considerable number of the nearest and dearest kindred, husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, who had been kidnapped or stolen at various times, and put on board different vessels, have thus been unexpectedly restored to each other at Sierra Leone: and whenever any of them have desired to return to their own country, and such

return has been deemed practicable, they have been allowed to do so ; being first provided with a paper, under the hand and seal of the Governor, certifying that they are to be considered as his people and under his protection, which is looked upon, according to the customs and law of Africa, to be a sufficient security against further molestation.

“ All the people thus returning home must naturally be more than ever the enemies of slavery, as they cannot fail in the last four eventful months of suffering and liberation to have acquired some new ideas of freedom, which will of course be gradually diffused amongst their friends ; and seeing that all white men are not their enemies, but that one European nation considers the slave trade as unlawful, and is determined, if possible, to put an end to it, the natives may by degrees feel some encouragement to liberate themselves from this horrible thralldom.”

The British Government, Mr. Thorpe adds, “ paid two black boys, who wrote badly and read worse, for teaching the children to read and write.” The truth and spirit of this allegation will be seen by the annexed specimens of the handwriting of these youths, who had been educated first by the Sierra Leone Company, and afterwards by the Institution, and who were sent out to Sierra Leone at its expense, though afterwards salaried by Government.—Some further observations on the subject of education are reserved for a subsequent part of the Report.

2. Mr. Thorpe proceeds, at p. 10, to blame the Institution for having sent cotton seeds and various ma-

chines to the Colony before they could be of any use.—The best answer which can be made to the charge contained in this passage, is to be found in the Second and Third Reports of the Society, which are already before the public.—These articles were sent out to Governor Ludlam; but they were received, not by him, but by Governor Thompson, who stated in a letter, dated March 6, 1809, that “measures had been taken for exciting the attention of the Coast to the cotton seeds sent out by the Institution; and a portion of them,” he adds, “will be propagated in the Colony at the proper season.”

Governor Thompson was on the spot at the time; and must have known the actual state of things in the Colony better than the Secretary, or even than Mr. Thorpe. Yet he does not state that there was any objection to the transmission of this cotton seed. On the contrary, his letters clearly imply that it was both a valuable and a seasonable gift. *He* does not say, with Mr. Thorpe, that land had not been granted to the Settlers: nor does he say that they had no implements wherewith to prepare the land. But this, it may be presumed, he would have said, had the fact been so.

In a subsequent letter, dated March 28, 1809, Governor Thompson again mentions his intention of sowing the cotton seed in the Colony; and as a testimony of his approbation of the objects and proceedings of the Institution, he incloses a contribution to its funds of 100*l*. Shortly, however, after this letter was written, he received the intelligence of his recall. His intended removal was postponed for

nearly a year, by the loss of the ship which carried out his successor. During that year it was that the evils mentioned by Mr. Thorpe took place: "The cotton seed was thrown into the river, and the machines suffered to decay."

Mr. Thorpe speaks uniformly in the highest terms of Mr. Thompson. He cannot, therefore, object to his testimony. It seems clear, however, that until the period of his hearing of his recal, at least until the 28th of March 1809, Mr. Thompson did not think that the African Institution had acted either unwisely or improvidently. He had then been Governor of the Colony for eight months, and must have known its circumstances. He had a full knowledge also of what Mr. Thorpe has chosen to represent as profuse and improvident expenditure on the part of the Institution. And yet, in his letter of the 28th of March 1809, he transmits the strongest mark he could give of his approbation of its proceedings, namely, a large contribution to its funds.

If Mr. Thope's statement respecting the want of land and implements had not been already proved to be absolutely groundless, it might be plainly inferred, even from the letters of Governor Thompson himself. These letters contain requests respecting a variety of objects wanted in the Colony. He requests, among other things, (particularly arms and ammunition, and animals of different descriptions, as dogs, rabbits, &c.)—

"Hemp seed, enough to sow thirty acres.

"Tobacco seed, twenty-five pounds.

"White Mulberry, one hundred plants.

"Red American Mulberry, one hundred plants.

"As many hundred cuttings as possible of the Madeira vine.

"Ten pounds of red, and ten pounds of white clover and other grasses."

And he expresses his sincere belief "that commerce and agriculture will overspread this almost depopulated part of Africa, and that in no very long time the Colony will repay the *benefits received*."

It was subsequently to this, that hearing of his recal, his views probably took another direction. His efforts to propagate the cotton seed appear to have been suspended. "The seed was thrown into the river, and the machines suffered to decay."

Mr. Thorpe has so frequently asserted the want of implements of husbandry, as an impediment to cultivation, that it may be proper to advert to that point more fully. He affirms (p. 35), that the cotton seed was as useless to the natives as to the settlers; for "they had *no implements of husbandry, nor any sort of instrument* to prepare the ground for the seed."

It has been already shewn, that in the Colony of Sierra Leone, there was no want of the implements of husbandry. That such a want should have existed, and not be complained of, was not possible. That it should be known to exist, and not be supplied by the merchants of the Colony, is very improbable. And it is at least equally improbable, that it should not once have been adverted to by Governor Thompson, or any succeeding Governor, or even by Mr. Thorpe himself while on the spot, in any of his

communications either with the Secretary of State or with the Governor of the Colony.

But it is not merely the colonists, but the natives, who, according to Mr. Thorpe, had no implements wherewith to plant this cotton seed.

Is it possible that Mr. Thorpe, after residing *twenty-one months* in Africa, should not know that the people of Africa are fed with rice, and a great part of them clothed with cotton cloth, the produce of their own labour; and that they both raise the cotton and weave it into cloth? Is it possible also he should not know that the implements required for planting cotton are precisely the same with those required for planting rice; and that as neither the one nor the other could be cultivated without implements, these must have existed although they escaped his observation? The object of the African Institution, therefore, was not to supply implements, which were not wanted, but merely to substitute a better kind of cotton for the wretched sort at present grown in Africa, and also to induce the natives to cultivate that better article more extensively. In order to this they transmitted seed of the best kinds to Sierra Leone, with an earnest request that it might be widely distributed; and they prepared and sent out directions for its management.

It is, moreover, well known to every person of common observation, who has been among the natives of Africa, that they do not in general use European implements in the culture of the soil. They prefer those which they themselves make from bar-iron; and



of this article, large quantities are usually sent to Africa in every merchant ship that sails thither.

The only implement which was really wanted, with a view to the culture of cotton, was a gin for cleaning it. The Africans clean it by the hand. Seven gins as models were accordingly sent; nor was this measure either profuse, improvident, or premature. The gins might have been used at once for cleaning the cotton already growing in Africa. And even with a view to the seed sent out by the Board, as cotton attains its maturity in six months after it is planted, supposing only Mr. Thompson's promises on this subject, as contained in his letter to the Institution, to have been realized, these gins would have been required very soon after their arrival. If the cotton seed had been planted, instead of being thrown into the river, and any considerable quantity of it, as might fairly have been expected, had come to maturity, and there had been no proper gins provided for cleaning it; how much more reasonably might Mr. Thorpe, in that case, have complained of the Institution for neglecting to furnish the necessary means of preparing it for the European market?

3. "In the Third Report," observes Mr. Thorpe, "the same old delusion, as practised by the Sierra Leone Company, is kept up. The Report proceeds to state, 'that the Colony would produce hemp, rope, cotton, silk, sugar, tea, bark, camphire, castor oil, tobacco, &c. &c. &c.' I was in the Colony years after this Report was published, yet never saw any of

those valuable productions, nor heard of any attempt being made to cultivate any of them, except in the instance of one little cotton plantation."

The measures taken with respect to cotton, and the causes of their failure, have been already stated.

With respect to the statement of the Board concerning hemp, tobacco, mulberry plants for feeding the silkworms, &c. it is difficult to discover what blame could be attributed to the Institution by any other person than Mr. Thorpe. In three or four successive pages, the Third Report gives information, received from different persons, as to the *possibility* of raising certain valuable articles of produce at Sierra Leone; and relates the steps which had been taken to forward their cultivation. Almost any other man would have thought this laudable, and in the way of their duty. But Mr. Thorpe (using his own words, though unfairly marked as quotation, not theirs,) represents them as affirming, *for the sake of imposition*, that the Colony *would* produce these various matters; and then censures the statement as false, because he neither saw the productions nor heard of any attempt to cultivate them. But what does Governor Thompson say on this point? In a letter, dated Nov. 11, 1808, he states, "An excellent report has been made of the progress of leather now tanning with the mangrove bark, of which a specimen shall be sent to the Directors as soon as it is completed." And in a letter dated the 28th March, 1809, he informs the Directors, that "the plants of the Institution were all in good health and prosperity."

Hearing soon afterwards of his recal, he made no further communications to the Board.

But it is not only Mr. Thompson who assures the Institution of the flourishing state of the plants. The following is a letter from Mr. Vanneck, who is stated by Mr. Thorpe (p. 68) to be one of the most intelligent and respectable gentlemen ever sent to the Colony, dated 6th March, 1809 :—

“ I take the liberty of informing you, that the plants sent out by the *Minerva* were exceedingly well packed in moss. Only one thing is necessary to observe, should any more be sent out, to have the labels tied to the plants with a little wire. String rots, and it is impossible by unpacking them to distinguish the difference of the plants. They were planted a few days after their arrival, in a moist soil. It pleased the Governor to leave them to my charge. They grew exceedingly well, particularly the mulberries and grape vines. I am afraid the green tea, star-apple, and sour sop are dead. I am ordered to transport them to the top of Leicester Mountain, which place is cleared for the purpose.”

If then it be true, that Mr. Thorpe, during his short stay in the Colony, never saw any of these productions, it may perhaps be owing to the same cause which led to the throwing of the cotton seed into the river, and to the decay of the machines.

4. Mr. Thorpe attacks the Fourth Report of the Institution on no specific ground, except that of deceiving the Navy. And yet the Directors, in order

to obviate the possibility of such deception, inserted in that Report a full abstract of the Abolition Acts, and of the Orders in Council founded on them.

5. If the information given of Sierra Leone in the Fourth Report be fallacious, as is implied in the observations of Mr. Thorpe, then the Directors must themselves have been deceived by Governor Thompson; for all that is there said on the subject is taken from the letters of that gentleman.

6. Mr. Thorpe attacks the Fifth Report, as proving the ignorance of the Directors respecting the Portuguese possessions, north of the Equator (p. 12). All that the Directors said on the subject was, that the Portuguese have no possessions "north of the Equator, with the exception only of the small island of Bessao," (Fifth Report, p. 30.) What there is incorrect in this statement is not very obvious.

7. Mr. Thorpe next attacks the Commission of African Inquiry, mentioned in the Fifth Report.

"In the plenitude of patronage, two of the Company's old servants, Messrs. Ludlam and Dawes, were appointed, with Captain Columbine, Commissioners for surveying the west coast of Africa, within certain latitudes, having a salary of 1500*l.* a year each. The first was known to have possessed neither practice nor theory for the discharge of such a duty; and if the other had a little knowledge of land-surveying, yet he was perfectly inadequate to such an undertaking as surveying the coast. But

Captain Columbine was first depended on for knowledge, and then incapacitated for the undertaking, by being appointed Governor of Sierra Leone. Messrs. Ludlam and Dawes proceeded a little way down the coast: the former died, and the latter returned to Sierra Leone, where Captain Columbine sat on a hill with a theodolite two or three times, gleaned some assistance from the indefatigable Captain Bones, made out what they called a Report; and thus to gratify the select with this piece of patronage, England has uselessly paid above ten thousand pounds." p. 13.

Now here Mr. Thorpe commits two errors. He supposes, or insinuates, that the object of the Commission was a nautical survey of the coast of Africa, which it was not;—and he asserts, that the persons selected were not competent to the duty imposed on them; which they were most fully, and would have been so, even if their duty had been what he represents it. Both Captain Columbine and Mr. Dawes were distinguished by their proficiency in the sciences connected with nautical surveying. The latter gentleman had been particularly recommended on that ground by Dr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, to the situation of Mathematical Teacher of Christ's Hospital; and in earlier life, when he went to New South Wales, he received from the Board of Longitude a set of instruments to enable him to prosecute nautical and astronomical observations for the general benefit of science. Even in that point of view, therefore, the selection was judicious.—But the chief object of the Commission being general inquiry, it does not appear, that a better choice could have

been made, than that of a person of Captain Columbine's character and attainments, and of two men, Mr. Ludlam and Mr. Dawes, who had already passed a number of years in Africa, and who were known to be solicitous for its improvement.

But the expense, it is alleged, was large and also useless. The largeness of the expense arose from the delay caused by the loss of the frigate, appointed to carry the Commissioners. A delay of about fifteen months was thus occasioned, during which the salaries of the Commissioners were, according to uniform practice, continued, and an expense of nearly 6000*l.* incurred, which would otherwise have been spared.

But perhaps Mr. Thorpe means to object to the propriety of continuing their salaries to the Commissioners during this their involuntary inaction. If so, the Directors think it necessary to state, not by way of recrimination, but for the purpose of enabling the Institution to judge of the justness of Mr. Thorpe's claim to a character for superior regard to public economy, that he himself enjoyed a salary as Chief Judge, and Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, at Sierra Leone, for seven years, although his actual residence in the Colony did not exceed twenty-one months. His salary, which was 1500*l.* a year, commenced from the month of January 1808, and he received it without any deduction for three years and a half before he set his foot within the Colony. But not content with this large sinecure emolument, soon after he landed at Sierra Leone, he demanded of Mr. Smith, the gentleman who had done the whole duty of the office of Judge of the Vice-Admiralty

Court for nearly eighteen months previous to his arrival, to pay over to him all the fees he had received in that capacity; and on Mr. Smith's refusing to comply with this demand, Mr. Thorpe brought an action against him, in the Court in which he himself usually presided, for 1000*l.*; and there pleading his own cause, he obtained a verdict for 320*l.* and actually *compelled* Mr. Smith, by a writ addressed to the Sheriff, to pay this sum within a few days after the verdict had been obtained.—The pleadings on both sides in this extraordinary case are now before the Board.—It ought, however, to be added, that the injustice of this proceeding, when stated to the Government at home by Mr. Smith, appeared so flagrant, that a considerable sum was deducted from Mr. Thorpe's salary, and assigned to Mr. Smith, as a remuneration for his services.

8. Mr. Thorpe blames the Directors for the information they gave to the Navy in their Fifth Report. In one point, that information was certainly erroneous; namely, in their stating it to be necessary that vessels carrying on the Portuguese Slave Trade, should have been built in the dominions of Portugal, or condemned in a Portuguese Court of Admiralty. But this, though an erroneous opinion, was one in which, at the time, Mr. Thorpe himself appears to have entirely and unreservedly concurred, as may be seen from several of his own decisions; particularly in the cases of the *Calypso*, *Urbano*, and *Paquete Volantè*. His excuse will probably be, that he was misled into those judgments by the Board. This would be but an inadequate excuse for a learned

judge, even if it were true. But in a communication made to the Directors upwards of a year ago, he distinctly says ; " I never received a single paper from this or any other Society, nor from any public officer. Here or there I never received any information." This would seem to exculpate the Board from the guilt of having biassed Mr. Thorpe's judgment, and to leave the error entirely his own.

As to the charge of having misled the officers of the Navy, with what grace this accusation comes from Mr. Thorpe will appear from the following document. It has been transcribed verbatim from a paper in the handwriting of Lieutenant Pascoe, of his Majesty's gun-brig *Daring*, entitled " Substance of a Conversation, and the Opinion of the Judge of the Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, June 13, 1812." It is as follows :—

" I take the slave trade in a larger and more comprehensive view than Sir William Scott; and, from much trouble and labour, have made such discoveries of the illicit trade in slaves as would astonish you. But to the question of Spaniards : I am fully of opinion that *they* have no right to trade in Slaves ; and shall always condemn them, until directed otherwise by my Government. Let me turn it which way I will, still it is the same thing at last. The slave trade is contrary to the law of nations, and declared by my country's law as inhuman and unjust. What right then has Spain to carry on this trade? None! Portugal is otherwise. Portugal says to Great Britain, You have brought me from a revolution in Portugal, surely not to plunge me into one in the Bra-



xils by abolishing the Portuguese slave trade. Great Britain says, No; certainly not; but by our treaty you shall be confined to your own Colonies in Africa. Portugal agrees to this, and to do away with this horrid traffic gradually. Thus Portugal knew it to be illegal, and indignantly secures herself by treaty. Spain has no such treaty. If a treaty was necessary for Portugal as an independent nation, surely it was so for Spain.

"Now again we will consider the Americans and Portuguese. The former carries on an extensive trade in Slaves under the Spanish flag. The latter carry on all this vile trade that English capital is embarked in. There are three vessels here now under the Portuguese flag: one was taken on a voyage from Princes to Bahia, from which last place she had come to the coast. This man stated he purchased his Slaves at Princes; but by investigation I discovered that he had been along the Bight of Benin, took his Slaves on board, took them to Princes, where he landed them; and after undergoing a mock sale, he shipped them again.

"To conclude: a naval officer cannot go wrong in sending a vessel having Slaves on board for adjudication. If she is condemned, the Slaves are landed, and the necessary certificate granted to obtain the head-money. If the defendants appeal, the vessel may be returned; but the Slaves cannot, as they have no right of property in them. From this it is clear, a naval officer's pocket cannot suffer, although my sentence may not be confirmed."

The above paper has been submitted to the consi-

deration of two highly respectable naval officers, who served on the African station, and who admit that it exhibits a correct view of the opinions promulgated by the learned judge. Whether the promulgation of such opinions was calculated to tempt the officers of the Navy to make unauthorized seizures, and whether Mr. Thorpe could have any interested motives for so doing, the Directors leave it to others to decide.

At p. 27, Mr. Thorpe refers to his own exposition of the Tenth Article of the Portuguese Treaty, (inserted in the Appendix to his pamphlet), as more correct than that of Lord Castlereagh; and he adds, that "his construction has not yet been overruled by higher authority."—This assertion, it is much to be regretted, is equally incorrect with the rest of his pamphlet. Previous to its appearance, that construction had already been overruled by Sir William Grant, Sir William Scott, and Sir John Nicholl, in the cases of the *Calypso*, *Urbano*, and *Paquete Volanté*, and has since been overruled in the case of the *San Juan*. But besides this, the irregularity of Mr. Thorpe's proceedings, as Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, appears to have produced, in the minds of the Judges of the Prize Appeal Court, a very unfavourable impression of the justice of his decisions; and in that way may have proved materially prejudicial to the general cause of Abolition.

9. Another theme of invective, strangely adduced by Mr. Thorpe, is the conviction of Brodie, Cooke, and Dunbar (p. 20), under the Slave Trade Felony Act.

These men were tried at Sierra Leone, in the cri-

minal court of that Colony, in the year 1814, before Robert Purdie, Esq., who, in consequence of Mr. Thorpe's absence, was appointed to act as chief justice, *pro tempore*, in his stead.

The offence charged against them was, trading in slaves in the Rio Pongas; to which Cooke pleaded guilty, and only offered to the Court as an objection in point of law, that his slave factory in that river was described by a wrong name in the indictment.

Dunbar pleaded to the jurisdiction of the Court, that he was a subject of Ferdinand the Seventh; but it appeared, and was notorious in the Colony, that he was a Scotchman by birth, though he had been trading as officer of a Spanish slave ship, from the Rio Pongas to the Havannah, and had on that account assumed the character of a Spaniard. He had been brought into Sierra Leone in the year 1812, on board a slave ship, called the Nueva Constitution, under Spanish colours, of which he was first mate; and having sworn falsely in his examination, had been convicted of perjury before Mr. Thorpe himself, and stood in the pillory by *his* sentence.

Being now identified as the person so punished, a comparison was made between his evidence in the cause of the Nueva Constitution in Nov. 1812, and his account of himself, also on oath, in April 1814, when he was again brought in on board another slave ship, the schooner *Sau Jose*, of which he called himself first pilot and captain's trade assistant. In the first instance, he deposed, that he was born in St. John's river, *West Florida*, and described himself as *thirty-one* years of age. In the last instance,

only seventeen months later, he represented himself as *forty-one* years old, and deposed that he was born in *East Florida*, under the Spanish flag.

The evidence of his trading in Slaves was clear beyond dispute. It was proved by the Negroes brought to the Colony in the *Nueva Constitucion*, as well as by other witnesses; and does not appear to have been denied by the prisoner himself.

Brodie pleaded not guilty, but was convicted on direct and satisfactory evidence. Two boys, whom he had himself personally bought as Slaves in Africa, and shipped as such by his agent, proved those facts against him; and his only defence was, a weak attempt to shift off the offence from himself to an African woman with whom he cohabited, and who was in fact one of his agents at a slave factory which he owned in the Rio Pongas.

These three convicts were sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and, being brought to England under their sentence, were placed on board the hulks; preparatory to their being sent to Botany Bay. But they have been recently pardoned by the Crown; and as Mr. Thorpe uses that fact with exultation, in support of his invectives against the Government of Sierra Leone, assuming that the injustice of the conviction was the cause of the pardon, it is right to state distinctly the ground upon which the Prince Regent was most properly advised to pardon and release them.

It was nothing more nor less than this, that the judge who filled Mr. Thorpe's seat in his absence, *following the precedents of his learned pre-*

*decessor Mr. Thorpe himself*, had tried and convicted those men without any lawful jurisdiction to do so. The convictions, therefore, were not merely erroneous, but absolutely void in law; and it was for that reason only, and not from any doubt of the guilt of the prisoners, (who, from the enormity of their offences, well deserved the fate to which they were sentenced,) that the pardon was granted, on a report of the law officers of the Crown.

The felonious acts of which these men were convicted were all perpetrated in the Rio Pongas, which is not within the limits of the territory of Sierra Leone, or any way dependent thereon, and therefore clearly not within the jurisdiction of the criminal court of that Colony, which is limited to the trial of offences arising within the Colony itself, or its dependencies.—But Mr. Thorpe had, while in the exercise of the same jurisdiction, tried several slave traders, convicted three, and sentenced one of them to seven years' transportation, and another, to three years' hard labour on the public works, in cases to all of which the same objection applied; for the offences were all committed without the local limits of the Colony or its dependencies. In one of the cases, that of Samuel Samo, tried by Mr. Thorpe in April 1812, the locality of the felonious acts was identically the same as in the cases of Cooke, Brodie, and Dunbar; namely, in the Rio Pongas; and in that case, the objection that it was a foreign territory had been taken on the part of the prisoner, but overruled by the Court. The law was consequently regarded as settled on that point by

Mr. Thorpe's authority, which was probably the reason that neither Cooke, Brodie, nor Dunbar, objected on the same ground to the jurisdiction of the Court.

Mr. Purdie, therefore, who was not by education a lawyer, seems to have been very excusable in supposing his jurisdiction too clear for dispute; and the Governor, a military officer, who had appointed him to that situation, as the fittest person he could find to be *locum tenens* of the office in Mr. Thorpe's absence, there being no man bred to the legal profession in the Colony, was at least equally blameless.

If both, however, had been culpable, Mr. Thorpe surely was the last man from whom they could have apprehended censure. To *him* they might reasonably have referred rather for explanation and defence. It must astonish any man, therefore, who has not previously considered other parts of that extraordinary pamphlet, to find the learned judge arraigning his unlearned successor as well as the Governor in the harshest terms for these convictions, and calling them the "*most unprecedented pieces of judicial ignorance and cruelty ever recorded.*"

It is true, that he here takes into the account, on the strength of his own assertion, that Cooke and Dunbar were foreigners; but as to Cooke, it does not appear that this was even alleged by him on the trial, and he *pleaded guilty to the indictment*. In Dunbar's case, the defence was put in issue, and found against him by the jury, which makes the charge of judicial ignorance in that respect plainly irrelevant; and as to Brodie, whose conviction Mr

Thorpe speaks of with equal asperity, and in whose pardon he equally exults, his national character is not denied, even by this hardy apologist himself, to be British.

It is to be remarked, that Mr. Thorpe does not appear, even at this time, at all to apprehend the true nature of that legal objection to these and to his own convictions, on the ground of which the pardon was granted. The Act, he says, (*i. e.* the Act of 51 Geo. III. cap. 23, which makes slave-trading felony), attaches only to British subjects, or others *in British territory*, and his language throughout supposes that the men had committed no legal offence, because the territory was foreign; whereas, supposing them to be British subjects, as they all in fact were, and as one of them is admitted to be, they were guilty of felony for trading in the Rio Pongas or any other foreign territory, as clearly as if the act had been committed in Sierra Leone, or elsewhere within the King's dominions.

On the other hand, if the Rio Pongas had been *British* territory, the legal objection would nevertheless have applied, because it is not within the local jurisdiction of the courts of Sierra Leone. The sole but decisive impeachment of these convictions is, that the criminals were convicted in a wrong court; and it is on the ground of this blunder alone, of which Mr. Thorpe himself was the parent, that he feels himself intitled not only to inveigh against his successor, and against the Governor of Sierra Leone, but to call for public commiseration of the convicts as innocent and persecuted men!!!

Mr. Thorpe, even on his confused and inexplicable views of the subject, feels that his own conviction of Samo stands in his way; and to prevent the lash from falling on himself, alleges that he had "*insurmountable difficulties* in that case," and that, "to prevent his reasons from being publicly known (lest they might affect the abolition cause)," he had secretly informed the Governor that he could not pronounce the sentence directed by the Act, and advised the pardon of the prisoner, in consideration of the chiefs connected with him in the Rio Pongas soliciting in his favour, and agreeing to renounce the slave trade.

If this explanation were correct in point of fact, to what does it amount? What were the difficulties which he stated to the Governor? Difficulties the judge might well have; for that Samo was a Dutchman, a reader of the trial will feel little doubt, and Mr. Thorpe the judge (who tried the fact as to his national character, not by the jury on the issue of not guilty, on which the question arose, BUT UPON AFFIDAVITS IN ARREST OF JUDGMENT,) held that the insufficiency of the prisoner's evidence to prove himself a foreigner subjected him to be convicted as a British subject, though domiciled in the Rio Pongas and seized at the Isles de Los\*. In other words, he laid the *onus probandi* on a man charged with a felony, to prove himself not guilty of it, in an Act *prima*

\* See the printed trials of Samo, Peters, and Tufft, for slave-trading; printed by Sherwood and Co., Paternoster Row, in 1813; a work evidently published either by Mr. Thorpe himself, or by one of his friends.



*facie* lawful, as being sanctioned by the law of the place where he resided ! ! !

It is not strange that the judge should have felt some doubts as to transporting a man on such a conviction. Unfortunately, however, no intimation of his doubts, whatever they were, was given to the public. His speech on suspending the sentence is, on the contrary, a laboured eulogium on the prosecution and verdict; and the subsequent pardon was treated by him as an act of great though judicious lenity.

If a doubt could afterwards have remained in Sierra Leone, whether by the authoritative opinion of Mr. Thorpe, men could be convicted of felony in his court, for acts of slave trading out of the local limits of the Colony, the doubt would have been soon removed; for in June 1812, two months after the conviction of Samo, he tried and convicted Joseph Peters and William Tufft, for sending and carrying several Negroes as slaves from Bance Island and Pery, and selling them at various places in Africa; the places of export being out of the local jurisdiction of Sierra Leone, and the places of sale not even British factories, but in all respects as much foreign as the Rio Pongas itself. Nor did he in these later cases, scruple to pass sentences of transportation, and of labour on the public works\*. If these men are still suffering under his sentences, it is clear they ought to be pardoned, on account of

\* See the printed trials last referred to, in which Mr. Thorpe, or his friend the Editor, claims great merit for these convictions.

the same blunder of which Cooke, Brodie, and Dunbar, have had the benefit.

It is needless to say more of the charges in question, or the strange inconsistency of the accuser; but it may be important to state that there would have been a defect of trial at Sierra Leone in such cases, even if Mr. Thorpe had read and understood the Act of Parliament which he undertook to execute, except that in this case the defect would have been soon supplied. If slave-traders, whether foreign or British, could have been tried at Sierra Leone under the Stat. 51 Geo. III. cap. 23, commonly called Mr. Brougham's Act, for offences committed out of the limits of the Colony, it must have been by virtue of a commission issued by the Crown, in pursuance of the Act of 11 and 12 Will. III. cap. 7, entitled, An Act passed for the more effectual Suppression of Piracy. But it now appears, that no such commission had been sent to Sierra Leone; though in all our old colonies in the West Indies and America, it has usually formed one of the standing commissions issued and transmitted to the Governors. That this instrument was not sent to Sierra Leone, when a Royal Government was first constituted in that Colony, is not justly imputable as a fault to the Ministers of that day, nor can their successors fairly be blamed for not supplying the omission. From the peculiar character of the settlement it was unnecessary, and would hardly have been proper, to assimilate it in this respect to the colonies in the new world, until Mr. Brougham's Act, by creating the offence of slave,

trading a felony, and referring the jurisdiction over it, to courts constituted according to the provisions of the Stat. 11 and 12 Will. III. and other statutes, made it necessary, or very desirable at least, that a commission under that Act should authorise the trying of this particular offence when committed in foreign parts of Africa, at the Colony of Sierra Leone; for the other courts, to which jurisdiction is given by Mr. Brougham's Act, cannot be constituted there. But the propriety of inquiring whether a commission under 11 and 12 Will. III. called the Pirates' Act, existed in Sierra Leone, was not then adverted to by the Directors of the African Institution, who have been in the habit of suggesting to Government the measures necessary for promoting the suppression of the slave trade in that part of the world; and on this account, the omission was very naturally overlooked in the government offices. The Directors feel that some neglect may reasonably be imputed to themselves in this respect; but the person beyond all proportion the most in fault, for not pointing out the defect, is the person who now arraigns the Colonial Government for its consequences—Mr. Thorpe himself. It was his duty when first applied to, early in 1812, in Samo's case, to try a felony under Mr. Brougham's Act, to examine his authority; and if he had either looked into that Act or into his own commission, he must immediately have seen the necessity of applying to the Governor to constitute a court under the statute of William. It would then have been found that the royal commission, directed by that statute,

was wanting ; the defect would have been officially notified to his Majesty's Government ; and the commission might have been transmitted to Sierra Leone before the end of 1812. But through the incomprehensible blunder of this judge in trying, under his *colonial* commission, felonies committed in the Rio Pongas, the omission in question remained unsupplied and unknown at the trial of Brodie and the others in 1814 ; and he now, by a new blunder, not less incomprehensible, exults in consequences which his own illegal conduct has produced, and calls the attention of the public to facts which redound to his own discredit.

The escape of those criminals from merited punishment, and the like impunity which must be extended to the persons convicted by himself, are every way imputable to Mr. Thorpe ; because they might have been sent to England, and tried here under the Statute 33d Henry VIII. And this course would unquestionably have been taken by the Governor, had the Judge pointed out to him the defect of the local jurisdiction in the earlier cases, and that defect had not been supplied.

There being no other man but Mr. Thorpe professing himself a lawyer in the Colony, the Governor could have no such advice, except from the man who has now the effrontery to arraign his conduct on the score of these convictions, and to charge them on the *judicial ignorance* of his successor !!!

As to the respectful and sympathetic style in which he speaks of these men—one of whom he had himself adjudged to the pillory, and all of whom he admits:

to have been traders in Slaves—it would be difficult to explain it even on the premises assumed by Mr. Thorpe himself. With his affected zeal for the abolition cause it is still less reconcilable, but is perfectly consistent with the true feelings of a man who labours to wily the most distinguished and faithful among the leaders in that cause.

10. The trial and condemnation of Bostwick and Macquin, mentioned by Mr. Thorpe (p. 19), in terms of strong censure, stand on precisely the same ground with those of Brodie, Dunbar, and Cooke. His own precedent was exactly followed in both cases, and followed with confidence, because, in addition to the weight of his recorded judgment, his successor had every reason, from the tenor of Mr. Thorpe's private communications, to believe that the proceeding would obtain the cordial sanction of his learned predecessor in office. Some of these communications will be given hereafter.—Of the guilt of the parties there did not exist the slightest doubt: they themselves admitted it on the trial; and as Mr. Thorpe had previously settled the question of the competency of the Court to try such offenders, there appeared to be no other course for Mr. Purdie to pursue but to pronounce on them the sentence of the law.

After these persons had been brought to England, they presented a petition to the Prince Regent, acknowledging their crime, and imploring mercy. "Your Petitioners, with sore contrition and repentance for the crime of which they pleaded guilty, implore your Royal Highness, &c." Again: "The re-

pentance of your miserable petitioners is sincere ; and in the awful example which they have already exhibited to Africa and the world, your petitioners look up with trembling hope to your Royal Highness."

It is some satisfaction to know, that although these men, through the strange oversight of Mr. Thorpe, were tried before a wrong court, they had yet unquestionably incurred the penalty of the law. They were British subjects found engaged in an extensive slave trade, which they had been carrying on for six years after it had been abolished by their country, and for two years after it had been pronounced to be a felony.

11. Mr. Thorpe severely censures also the conduct of Governor Maxwell, and of Captain Scobell and Captain Maxwell of his Majesty's Navy, for having attacked and destroyed the slave factories in the rivers Mesurado and Pongas, and liberated the Slaves found in them. This he calls invading with fire and sword the territory of our allies, carrying away their subjects, destroying their possessions, &c. p. 20.

The slave factories which were destroyed belonged *exclusively* to British or American subjects. They were planted on ground which had been originally obtained from the Native Chiefs, but over which the native jurisdiction did not *practically* extend. They were situated on the banks of navigable rivers, and were entirely distinct and separate from any town or village of the natives. The attack and destruc-

tion of these factories Mr. Thorpe calls *an invasion of the territories of our allies*. The liberation of the captives detained in the slave yard, or in the slave chain, of these contemnors of the laws of their country, he chooses to denominate *a carrying away of the subjects of those allies*. And the demolition of the store-houses, and slave-holds of these British and American miscreants, he calls *destroying the possessions of the natives*.

The misrepresentation of the case is so gross as to require only to be stated.

It is obvious, that if the subjects or the enemies of the King can fix themselves as slave-traders on the navigable rivers of Africa, and pursue, without molestation, their nefarious practices, on the pretence that they are under the jurisdiction of native chiefs;—if factories and even forts erected by such persons, in defiance of the laws of their country, shall be considered as placed beyond the reach of British controul;—if the armed vessels of his Majesty entering these rivers, are not to be allowed to question the conduct, or interrupt the criminal pursuits, of these piratical depredators; there is, in that case, an end of all hope either of extinguishing the slave trade, or of civilizing Africa.

But in Africa such a principle never has been, and never can be, acted upon. No one has ever doubted the right of this country to controul and punish the conduct of persons residing in our different establishments on the Gold Coast. But these establishments differ from the factories in the Rio Pongas only in this, that they are stronger and less

assailable. The forts on the Gold Coast, however, are equally within the territorial limits of the native powers, as the factories in the Rio Pongas. The only *legal* tenure, in both cases, is the payment of a rent to the native chiefs. If, therefore, a force were to be landed from a frigate to punish rebellion, or any other crime, at Cape Coast Castle, or Anamaboo, or Dixcove, it would, in principle, be as much an invasion of the territory of peaceful allies, as if the same force were landed at Cape Mesurado, or in the Rio Pongas, in order to arrest and punish the felons who were there carrying on the slave trade. And if in the former case, his Majesty's officers would be justified in attacking a native force, which should range itself on the side of the criminals, they would be equally so in the latter.

But it is time to shew what countenance these general positions, no less than the particular conduct which Mr. Thorpe condemns with such unmeasured vehemence, may be considered as deriving from his own authority.

On the 6th of August, 1812, Mr. Thorpe addressed the following letter to Governor Maxwell :—

“ My dear Sir,

“ I shall lay by the subject I was on, to write a few lines on a subject arising from your letter, as it may be of service to you when I am far away, or no more. In truth, Governors are so often ruined by actions in the Courts, and harassed by charges before the Council, that a friend at a distance is almost for ever agitated, as it is difficult to find a precise



rule of conduct. The powers by Commission and the Royal Instructions will guide in many cases; but the most secure mode to consider a doubtful case, I think, is this. The authority of a Governor is a delegation of the powers of the Crown. No man can delegate powers he has not: therefore, the Governor's power can never exceed the King's power, unless specially given by Act of Parliament. For instance, in the case of Samo and Hickson, I was miserable until a conviction took place; and it made me press on Mr. Biggs the necessity of getting the chiefs to place the White men under your jurisdiction, because it not only extends the power of England, but *it enables you to exercise a most useful power hereafter without danger to yourself*; and I hope you will extend this power whenever you can induce the chiefs to surrender their jurisdiction as Mungo Katty did. *I shall strongly represent this, and shew its great utility, in England.*—But look to our state if conviction had not taken place, and those fellows had pursued you to England.

“I have stated thus much from my sincere esteem; and when I am absent and you more elevated, in a moment of difficulty, on cool consideration, it may be useful. *I am convinced it is not only your wish not to assume power, but ever to use that entrusted to you with the utmost utility and clemency*; and when there is no positive rule, it is well to have a general principle as a guiding star.”

So highly did Mr. Thorpe value the services performed by Mr. Biggs in the Rio Pongas, that in another letter to Governor Maxwell, written on the

23d July 1812, he observed: " Now as to the business he performed in the Rio Pongas, I am convinced you are too deeply indebted to him by his extricating you from a most severe difficulty ; the friends of the Abolition are too deeply indebted to him for his exertions in the slave trade ; and Great Britain is too deeply indebted to him *for the exterritorial right he has established on the coast for her*, ever to think of remunerating him here. I should advise his being desired to put every thing down ; and when you are satisfied of the truth of every item, sign it, and let him take it to the Lords of the Treasury, who are the proper judges of such service, and you will be relieved from an expense and an embarrassment \*."

In a letter, dated the 10th August 1812, Mr. Thorpe recurs to this general subject. " You have already " (he is writing to Governor Maxwell) " induced some Chiefs to place the inhabitants, not Black, under your jurisdiction. *Continue this ; it will be easily accomplished : extend it from Cape de Verd to Cape Negro † : two years will effect it : you will then have extended the jurisdiction and exterritorial right of Great Britain over a quarter of the world she never expected.*"

But even before these letters were written, the judgment which Mr. Thorpe pronounced from the Bench on Samuel Samo, a slave-trader in the Rio

\* The advice given by the learned judge was adopted by Mr. Biggs, and the schedule of his services will be found in the Appendix, F.

† Namely from 15° North Lat. to 15° South Lat.

Pongas, apprehended at the Isles de Los, a place also out of the jurisdiction of Sierra Leone, shews what was *then* the doctrine which he wished to establish on this point, and how much at variance it is with his present views. "The prisoner," he observed, "has domiciled above sixteen years in the Rio Pongas. This may be considered foreign dominions, *but the Chiefs of that country consider the White men as British subjects, and they also consider themselves British subjects.* They have claimed, in cases of distress, British protection and received it: they purchase, reside, and trade as British subjects, not as Africans. The prisoner has derived every advantage and protection from the English law: he must not now violate it with impunity: we cannot suffer this state of oscillation. Is he one moment to be within the pale of our laws and protection, and the next out of the pale of its coercion?" Again: "As to the prisoners having resided in a *foreign* country, whose laws were the rule of his conduct, and that he is not to be brought before a tribunal whose authority he does not acknowledge, I cannot allow it to be a fair statement. I have already shewn that he must be considered as a British subject, and *amenable to our law*; but *English law is the rule of action even in the Rio Pongas,*" &c. See "Trials of the Slave Traders at Sierra Leone in April and June 1812, before the Hon. R. Thorpe," &c. printed in London in 1813, for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, pages 31 and 32.

On precisely the same views does Mr. Thorpe appear to have proceeded in his judicial decisions in

the Admiralty Court; and several instances occurred in which he condemned to his Majesty, natives of Africa, rescued from slavery, under circumstances similar to those of the persons who were liberated from the slave factories in the Rio Pongas. In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to the judgments pronounced by him on the 24th of February 1812; in the case of certain Slaves, seized in Sangamar river, and others seized at Dakar.—It is left to Mr. Thorpe to reconcile these contradictions.

12. The Sixth Report is charged with “complete ignorance of the West Coast of Africa, the state of the slave trade, and the Portuguese possessions.”—To this no reply seems necessary: sufficient proof has already been given of the value of Mr. Thorpe’s mere assertion.

13. Mr. Thorpe next quotes a passage from the 28th page of the Sixth Report, in which Captain Cuffee is represented as stating, that the Colony of Sierra Leone was improving; and that the effect of the pains taken in instructing the youth, from the moment the Colony was first formed, appeared in the superior intelligence of the rising race of Colonists: and he adds this remark;—“I saw Mr. Cuffee in Sierra Leone; he appeared a man of truth and observation; and I know he constantly lamented, while in the Colony, the dreadful state of depravity into which it was sunk. From this, and the general fallaciousness of the Report, I am led to conclude he never gave such incorrect information.” (p. 14.)

It will here be sufficient to state that the information of Captain Cuffee was given on the 27th August, 1811, in the presence of the following persons: viz. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester; the Right Hon. J. C. Villiers; W. Allen, Esq.; T. F. Forster, Esq.; J. de Ponthieu, Esq.; G. Harrison, Esq.; M. Martin, Esq.; Z. Macaulay, Esq.; James Stephen, Esq.; H. Thornton, Esq.; and J. R. Williams, Esq.

14. Mr. Thorpe, with his usual candour, insinuates, that the Board wished to conceal the affair of the 167 slaves, alleged to have been sold at Sierra Leone, (p. 16.)—This matter has already been fully explained in a preceding part of this Report. (p. 54.)

15. Mr. Thompson, he alleges, would not continue to "furnish fallacious documents for the African Institution." (p. 16.)—Mr. Thompson, however, did continue to make statements to the Board, the truth of which Mr. Thorpe is pleased to controvert, down to the time that he heard of his recall.

16. "Truth and honour," says Mr. Thorpe, "were Mr. Thompson's disqualifications. He was recalled. But they have had a Governor for nearly four years perfectly united to their wishes." (p. 16.) This points, of course, to Colonel Maxwell, whom, as well as the Directors of the African Institution, Mr. Thorpe would insinuate to be destitute of truth and honour, and indisposed to promote the civilization of Africa.—To this insinuation, as it respects

Colonel Maxwell, it may be sufficient to oppose the following letter, written by Mr. Thorpe himself, the very week he quitted Sierra Leone, after he had had a full opportunity, for nearly two years, of observing Colonel Maxwell's conduct; had sat with him in Council; and had given his direct sanction to almost every act of that gentleman's administration. The letter is dated at Sierra Leone, March 16th, 1813, and is as follows:—

" My dear Sir,

" My last duty in the Colony being performed, permit me to express the first wish of my heart, which is, that the happy terms in which we have lived for two years, might be as well known in England as it is here; therefore hope, that in writing to the Secretary of State, you will relate, as I feel you think, that I have done my duty strictly; that what little aid I could give to your administration, I performed cheerfully; that I have made some exertions in support of the Abolition; and that in private I have not poisoned the convivial banquet. I have ever been ready to acknowledge the zeal with which you have assisted my public efforts, and anxiously proclaimed, that every comfort I experienced in private life has arisen from your kind attention, which absolutely anticipated my wants, and preserved me from every annoyance. I well remember often thinking that the friendship I had formed with you and poor Heddle would repay me for the calamities I was naturally likely to encounter, and will sincerely declare

that although I have lost the one, yet the pleasure I have had from the cordiality of intercourse I have experienced with the other, has compensated for every curtailment of comfort, and every estrangement I have experienced from joys the highest in life. Be assured I shall be ever ready to tell most truly how sincerely I feel obliged, and how faithfully I am your friend,

(Signed) "ROBERT THORPE."

This is only one of various letters in the same strain which might be produced. In another, dated Dec. 23, 1812, he states himself "perfectly satisfied that you never expend public money, but for public advantage."—Again: on the 12th of February 1813, after proposing the appointment of an officer allowed in other Colonies, "called naval officer," he observes: "By Wednesday I think we could settle every thing to your satisfaction; and then I *REALLY know of NOTHING wanted in your Government but public buildings.*"—On the 23d of February 1813, he recurs to this subject: "*EVERY salutary act for the Colony seems to be passed; NO ONE THING seems to require my remaining; and UNNECESSARILY to sacrifice my life to the climate would be insanity.*"—On the 8th of March 1813, he writes: "When I am far from you, I sincerely hope you will have health and happiness, and find those around you as attached and as faithfully your friend as Robert Thorpe." And on the 13th of the same month he adds; "I shall take a further opportunity to express how much you have contributed to my

comfort, how much obliged I have been, how truly grateful I am, and how faithfully I shall remain yours ever, Robert Thorpe."

These different letters are addressed to the man whom he now stigmatizes as "destitute of truth and honour." And here it is worthy of remark, that Mr. Thorpe appears to have continued to speak in terms of high commendation of the administration of Governor Maxwell, even in his representations to Government, down to a very recent period; namely, the period that Governor Maxwell, on his return to England in September last, deemed it his duty to prefer grave and serious charges against Mr. Thorpe, before the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.—The Governor appears to have endeavoured, by every civility and attention which he could give to Mr. Thorpe while at Sierra Leone, to soften and counteract those unbridled tempers which are said to have obliged him previously to quit his judicial situation in Upper Canada; but with so little effect that he was at last compelled, for the sake of the peace, and, as he conceived, of the very existence of the Colony, to prefer those complaints against Mr. Thorpe which have issued in his dismissal.

17. Mr. Thorpe (p. 17) charges the Seventh Report of the Institution with *fallaciously* representing "that the slave trade was diminishing."—That Report was made to the Subscribers in March 1812. On the 10th of August in the same year, Mr. Thorpe, in a letter to Governor Maxwell thus expresses himself: "*Consider how largely, how extensively, we have*



*crippled the slave trade. We have closely bound up the Portuguese; we have terrified the Americans; and put to flight the Spaniards. My decisions are all known. ANY ONE CAN FOLLOW THEM UP. I cannot add to what I have done."* Again: on the 23d of February 1813, when endeavouring, as in the former letter, to justify his early return to England, he observes; "And now, my good Sir, when you consider how wonderfully the Almighty has preserved my life and spared my health, with the weight that I have about my neck, you would consider me unjustifiable in hazarding a third wet season. Besides, when you consider all the present circumstances, *there seems an INTERVAL in the slave trade. Should it REVIVE, I may be stronger to meet it."*

If the representation of the Board, that the slave trade was diminishing, were fallacious, what shall be said of these representations of Mr. Thorpe?

18. On the subject of the captured Negroes, of whose treatment Mr. Thorpe makes such heavy complaints, it will be sufficient to refer to the statement which has been already made in the general Report of this year, and to the documents which are subjoined to it. It will appear from that statement, that the officers of Government who had charge of the captured Negroes, exerted themselves far beyond what was required of them, either by the Act of Parliament, or by the Order in Council founded upon it, in providing for their wants, securing their comfort, and promoting their happiness and improvement; and that they took prompt measures to remedy such

evils as almost unavoidably sprung up in the first instance, in the conduct of a new and hitherto untied and delicate experiment.

The exceeding difficulty of making any satisfactory arrangement on this important point, was always obvious to those persons who took an active interest in the matter; and many ineffectual attempts have been made to overcome or remove them. Several regulations were suggested to the Council Board, which it was supposed might have proved advantageous to the liberated Negroes, but the Directors were not so fortunate as to procure their adoption; The failure of their wishes on this point, however, is chiefly to be regretted as it respects the West Indies. At Sierra Leone, the judicious measures of Governor Maxwell, as they are detailed in the Report of the year, scarcely seem to admit of improvement, excepting in what regards the more extensive instruction of the captives, and the enlistment of the men into his Majesty's service, on which a few remarks will be made. The following extract of a letter, recently received from Sierra Leone, and written without any view to the present inquiry, will serve to confirm this general statement:---

"We have uniformly followed the plan begun at Cabenda\*, and all the captured Negroes not enlisted have been sent out into the country at once. Of late there have been no more apprenticed:---There are at present the following captured negro towns; viz. Bama-

\* A town settled by the captives landed from the Brig Agent, while Captain Bones was acting Governor of Sierra Leone.

barra Town, Leicester, Cabenda, Cusso Town, Bassa Town near the False Cape, Portuguese Town to the west of Leicester, Kissy Town near Robiss, and Kenneth's Town on the Hogbrook, between five and six miles back in the mountains from Freetown. This last contains upwards of six hundred inhabitants. They have all built houses according to their different country fashions, and make very great progress in cultivating the land.—We now give them all two complete suits of English clothes on first landing which they are afterwards obliged to provide for themselves; and they are much more respectable in appearance than many of the Settlers. The land allotted them is clearing very fast, and there is no doubt but that they will be in a very short time the most independent part of the Colony. They do not, like the others, spend any part of their money in rum.—We have made so many of the young captives masons, that that species of labour has fallen one fourth. It will be the same with the carpenters in a very short time.”

But supposing the case to have been otherwise; supposing it to have been as bad as Mr. Thorpe represents it to be, it is difficult to conceive that he himself could have been free from a large share of blame. He was the first magistrate in the Colony. He was also a member of the Council. His own letter of the 16th March, 1813, already quoted, acknowledges that the Governor always seconded with zeal his public efforts. It is fair then to inquire whether he interfered, either as a judge, or as a member of the Government, to check, or prevent the

abuses of which he now complains? Whether, at the time, he made any distinct representation on the subject? Whether he proposed any Minute in Council, with a view of remedying, or even marking and protesting against, the evils which he now affirms to have existed? To these questions the Directors believe that a negative answer must be given. In the series of his correspondence with Governor Maxwell, they can find no allusion to the subject, except what may be implied in the general expressions already quoted, in which he praises that gentleman's administration; such as that *every salutary act had now been passed—there remained nothing more for him to do—nothing was now wanted in the Colony but public buildings, &c.*

If Mr. Thorpe's present statements on the subject of the captured Negroes are true, what excuse can he make for the utter neglect of his plain and obvious duty as a magistrate and a member of Council—that of protecting them from oppression?

The Directors, however, believe that those statements are unfounded. They have prosecuted their inquiries into the subject with much solicitude; and the only particular instance of oppression they have been able to discover, since the period of Mr. Thorpe's arrival in the Colony, is one of which the learned judge himself appears to have been guilty. On the 29th February, 1812, he addressed the following note to "George Christie, Esq. of the Royal African Corps commanding at Fort Thornton;" viz.—

" Dear Sir,

" I beg you will put the three boys named Jack, Sabba, and Tody \*, that I send up, *to a good deal of work, and very little food for three months, for stealing, or being accessory to the theft of, two goats big in kid.*

" Your most humble Servant,

(Signed) " ROBERT THORPE."

The Directors understand that these boys underwent no trial whatever, (indeed the vagueness of the charge against them implies that it had not been judicially established); but that they were subjected to this severe discipline by the arbitrary will of the learned judge. And, as an aggravation of the circumstance, it is further affirmed, that the goats were the property of Mr. Thorpe himself.

Mr. Thorpe exclaims with great vehemence against the practice of entering the captured Africans into his Majesty's sea and land service, as being *slavery* under another name. It is obvious, however, that here, if his complaint were ever so well founded, the law, and the law alone, is in fault; and no blame fairly attaches either to the servants of Government or to the African Institution. The Directors indeed, have great reason to fear, that abuses may have existed in the recruiting department; but they believe that those abuses exist no longer; and that the only question which need now

\* Three captured Negroes.

be agitated respects the expediency of continuing the present system of enlistment, as the same is authorized by Act of Parliament. They undoubtedly conceive, that that system would admit of many beneficial modifications ; and they are most anxious, not only that those modifications should be adopted, but that every abuse should be guarded against, and every charge of misconduct rigorously investigated, and, if well founded, severely punished. But they agree with the highly respectable Editor of Mr. Mungo Park's last Mission to Africa, that occasional abuses, particularly if those abuses admit of an easy remedy, ought not to be urged "as valid arguments against the practice itself, *if it should be ascertained to be on the whole beneficial to the Africans.*"

"It has been stated," adds the same acute writer, "by enlightened and benevolent persons, who have witnessed the state of slavery in the West Indies, and the assertion has every appearance of probability, that the embodying and employment of black troops has had the happiest effect in elevating and improving the negro character, and in giving a greater degree of importance to that oppressed race.

"In the instance of Sierra Leone, to which these observations more immediately relate, compare the situation of a captured Negro, when rescued from the horrors of a slave vessel, with that of the same man a short time afterwards, when serving as a British soldier ! The ordinary condition of human life has nothing similar to this change : it is a transition from the most abject misery, to ease, comfort, and com-

parative dignity." \*—*Appendix to Mungo Park's last Mission*, p. xcv.

This was probably the view which Mr. Thorpe himself took of this subject while he was yet at Sierra Leone, although he now professes to hold an opinion so widely different. In a letter addressed to Governor Maxwell on the 10th August, 1812, he congratulates that gentleman on his having opened to Great Britain "such a means of recruiting her army as she never dreamt of." "Here then," he adds, "is an extension of territory, an augmentation of trade, and *an increase of land and sea forces sufficient to maintain every possession, without sacrificing the lives of her European inhabitants*†."

Who could have expected to find Mr. Thorpe loudly inveighing against the system which, two years before, he had so strenuously recommended?

Although the annual Report answers the general charges of Mr. Thorpe, respecting the captured Slaves, the Directors will here advert to one of them, which is made particularly prominent. "The women and girls," it is said, "were selected for the basest purposes," p. 24. Mr. Thorpe adds in a note; "The conduct of those high in office, with respect to the captured negro girls, is now under consideration;" alluding, the Directors presume, to some counter-charges, which, notwithstanding the uniformly laudatory strain of his former statements respecting Go-

\* See the general Report of the present year, for a farther elucidation of this subject.

† The whole of this letter will be found in the Appendix, G.

vernor Maxwell's administration, he has thought it right to prefer against that gentleman.

The Directors have taken pains to investigate the truth of this very serious imputation; but they have hitherto met with no evidence (excepting that of Mr. Thorpe himself), either oral or documentary, to support it, as far as it is applicable to any of those persons on whom Mr. Thorpe can be anxious to fix the charge.

19. Mr. Thorpe has dwelt much on the low state of morals at Sierra Leone; and there is doubtless much truth in the representation. When the nature of the population of that Colony is considered, composed as it is of Nova-Scotian Blacks, who in early life were habituated to all the licence which is incident to a state of slavery; of Maroons, who in Jamaica lived in the practice of polygamy, and of the other vices which disfigure the face of society in our West-Indian Islands; and of native Africans, as yet unacquainted with the obligations of Christianity or the restraints of civilized life; the Directors cannot wonder that there should be great room for complaint on this head, and they very earnestly desire that an adequate remedy were applied. If, however, there should be any truth in much concurrent information which they have received, they cannot help entertaining some doubts, whether the example of even Mr. Thorpe himself was peculiarly calculated to diminish the evil.

20. Mr. Thorpe has also dwelt much on the backward state of cultivation in the Colony; but he has omit-



ted to inform the public, that this backwardness arose, in part at least, from the effects of a law framed by himself, namely, the Militia Act. This law was so obnoxious to a large part of the Settlers, that they preferred abandoning their farms and houses, and quitting the Colony entirely, to submitting to its provisions. Many of them did actually abandon the Colony on this account, and left their farms to desolation. The measures which Mr. Thorpe was disposed to pursue on this occasion, may be inferred from the following letter which he addressed on the 31st March, 1812, to Governor Maxwell :—

“ My dear Sir,

“ Though I commend most highly your general benevolence, yet I cannot agree with you in pitying S—\*. He assured me, that he saw no harm in the Militia Act, and that the Maroons ought to submit to it, and that he would enrol himself. He has not done so, evidently because the party he leads are adverse; is a combined phalanx of ignorance, obstinacy, and determination, not to be broken through. Are three hundred persons armed, active, hardy, combined, and resolute men, not to be separated, disorganized and subdued? S— has made over his property to J. M. They will not part with a dollar. *They disseminate the doctrine that a soldier is a degraded person because he may be flogged, and that any person that would be a soldier is beneath themselves†.* For what good is all this? If this knot is

\* One of the principal Maroons.

† Compare this with Mr. Thorpe's *present* opinions respecting soldiership.

not untied, *I would sever it.* This spirit has grown and strengthened too much. I conceive them \* silent; plotting; obstinate, vicious, ignorant, devils, dangerous in any society, but particularly so in a government like yours, open to a variety of circumstances that cannot be foreseen. I do conceive S—— criminal in his ingratitude to you, and at the head of this unyielding, cemented, vicious clan, that would be dangerous if they dare. You know, my dear Sir, it is my principle to give you my opinion honestly. They cannot be injurious with you; but you will not be always here: a weak government will make them strong, and what they could do, they would do.

“ Ever yours most truly,

(Signed)

“ ROBT. THORPE.”

Had it not been for the moderation and forbearance of Governor Maxwell, these violent counsels might have produced the most calamitous consequences. By pursuing a more lenient course, the Settlers were reclaimed to their duty, returned to the Colony, and resumed their farms, but not until a month or two after Mr. Thorpe had quitted it.

The Directors have no intention of blaming the Militia Act, which occasioned this defection, and the consequent decrease of cultivation in the Colony. The Act, they believe, was framed on the model of other colonial acts of the same description, and some such act was clearly necessary.

\* Viz. the Settlers.

Those evils may, therefore, be fairly ascribed to the unreasonableness of the Settlers\*. But when Mr. Thorpe was representing the backward state of cultivation in the Colony, during the twenty-one months he resided there, it would only have been fair in him to state, that this was to be ascribed neither to the Sierra Leone Company nor to the African Institution; but, in great part at least, to the Act of which he himself was the author, and the provisions of which he was disposed to enforce with so much rigour.

The Colony, however, appears to have afterwards recovered from this temporary depression.

On the subject of the trade of the Colony, the Directors refer to the Report of the year.

21. Mr. Thorpe calls on the Directors (p. 15) to shew any one instance of civilization they have effected; or even attempted; and he affirms (pp. 34, 35); that they have performed *no* part of what they promised to the public. That more has not been done in the great work of African civilization, is a subject of at least as deep regret to the Directors as to Mr. Thorpe. But while they have been prevented by

\* Mr. Thorpe adduces the disaffection of the Settlers under the Company's Government, as an argument against the Company. But if the mere fact of disaffection proved any thing, would not his own administration stand condemned? The governed, however, and not the governors, may be the persons to be blamed. The disaffection of the Settlers under the Company was the effect chiefly of the licentiousness and insubordination caused by the weakness of the government.

circumstances from effecting, though they have attempted, much in the way of *direct* instruction, they still refer with confidence to their past proceedings, as an answer to Mr. Thorpe's call. And if the great bar to African civilization be, as he himself has admitted, the slave trade, then they flatter themselves that they have not only attempted, but *effected* much for Africa.

Mr. Thorpe seems to imagine, in defiance of the concurrent testimony of history, that the growth of civilization is something which should be visible in twenty-one months; for this was the entire period to which his personal observations extended. On the ground of this brief experience, during a time also when many of the Colonists had been induced, by an Act which he himself had framed, to abandon their farms and quit the Colony, he takes it upon him to affirm, in opposition to the testimony of almost every other individual who has known Sierra Leone, that *nothing* has been effected, nor even *attempted*, in civilization, either by the Sierra Leone Company, or the African Institution, or the servants of his Majesty. The Directors, however, are assured by persons of the first respectability, who resided in the Colony for a number of years, that the statements of Mr. Thorpe in this respect also are happily unfounded; that the progress of civilization, though slow, has been sure and unremittingly progressive, not only among the settlers, but the surrounding natives; and that it would be impossible for any man who was conversant with the state of Sierra Leone in 1792 and 1793, not to be struck

with the very great and visible improvement which has taken place during the last twenty years.

Mr. Thorpe, however, could hardly have been ignorant, that in addition to any attempts which have been made by the African Institution in the work of direct instruction,—attempts necessarily limited, as has been already observed, by the fundamental rule which prevented the employment of Missionaries; and by the low state of its funds,—much has been attempted and even effected in this way by other societies, and particularly by the Church Missionary Society for Missions to Africa and the East. Of this Society, the very persons whom Mr. Thorpe most vehemently attacks as unfriendly to the interests of Africa, namely, the late chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, Mr. H. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Macaulay, it appears, were among the founders; and from its institution in 1800, they have also been among its most strenuous supporters, as well as active managers: besides whom, twelve noblemen and gentlemen are managers alike of both institutions. These persons, as well as the Directors generally, have all along known that great exertions were making, even in that department of instruction which Mr. Thorpe alleges to have been so fatally neglected. And it will be satisfactory to the Meeting to learn, that the Church Missionary Society has not only been engaged, for the last ten years in extending the blessings of Christian education to numbers of African youth, but that it has undertaken the charge of forming schools for the whole of the youth of the negro popu-

lation at Sierra Leone who have been rescued from the condemned slave ships, and has actually sent out teachers of both sexes with that view\*. As the income of this Society, in the last year, was about 12,000*l.*, and in the present, about 16,000*l.*, the Directors have no doubt that the expectations it has raised on this subject will be fully answered.

But this is by no means all that is actually going forward in the way of instruction at Sierra Leone. It is true, that during a great proportion of the twenty-one months that Mr. Thorpe resided at Sierra Leone, the voluntary exile of many of the settlers, caused by his own Act, had lessened the number both of the teachers and scholars, and materially interfered with the progress of instruction; and this effect, after his manner, he attributes to the African Institution. But the Directors have now before them a letter from one of the schoolmasters, dated in 1810, stating, that he had then under his care about one hundred boys; besides whom, the Missionary Nylander, and three other teachers (male and female) on the establishment, are stated to have had each from thirty to fifty scholars. There were, besides these, two small schools supported by the settlers themselves. In the succeeding year, the Methodist Missionaries opened a school on the new British system, for the purpose chiefly of teaching the captured Negroes. An eye-witness, speaking of this circumstance, observes; "Many of these poor people are very anxious for instruction; and it

\* Appendix, F.

was with no small pleasure I have seen the Methodist chapel filled with them in the evening, and several of the young people among the settlers officiating as schoolmasters and mistresses, on the new system; but all this was done without any countenance from Mr. Thorpe, who, on the contrary, acted rather the part of a persecutor of these Missionaries."

The interruption given to education by the Militia Act, has been already mentioned. Subsequently to the period of Mr. Thorpe's quitting the Colony, the state of the schools, from the best information which the Directors have been able to obtain, and on which they entirely rely, was as follows:—a school under the superintendence of Mr. and Mrs. Butcher, Missionaries, contained about one hundred and forty captured girls, and about thirty children of the Colonists. Two of the Methodist Missionaries, aided by another person, were engaged in keeping a school of boys on the new plan. A Sunday-school was established in the building used as a church, under the management of a Nova-Scotian named Jordan, who is stated to have carried it on with zeal, and to have had more scholars than he could well attend to. One of the soldiers of the Royal African corps, of the name of Sims, conducted a boys' school, at which the African drummers and soldiers, and the captured boys who were learning trades, attended, to the number of about sixty. This man is reported to pay great attention to the school under his charge, and to do much justice to his pupils: he had also some private scholars. Besides these schools, there was a private school

for girls in the Colony, kept by a person of the name of Duncan.

The above sketch refers to the years 1813 and 1814.

Since that time, however, an European school-master, and two European schoolmistresses, and three African youths, prepared by several years' instruction in this country to act as teachers on the new system, have been sent out to Sierra Leone by the Directors. Several additional teachers have also been sent, and more are about to be sent, by the Church Missionary Society.

22. At p. 60, Mr. Thorpe tauntingly asks, why the Institution "did not unremittingly labour to have the slave trade pronounced a violation of the law of nature and nations by the European Powers assembled in Congress?"—And did it not do so? By whom, then, was the public attention awakened and kept alive to this subject? At whose instance were the Addresses in both Houses of Parliament in favour of the universal abolition of the slave trade moved? By whom was the example first set, of calling meetings to petition the legislature on that point, and the whole nation invoked to come forward as one man, in behalf of injured Africa? By whom was the unavoidable expense attending this universal call on the national feeling, chiefly borne? To these questions the only reply which can be made, is the African Institution?

11. If Mr. Thorpe is ignorant of its exertions in this cause, or if, knowing them, he nevertheless wishes to discredit them with such persons as he may hope to



influence by the boldness of his untrue insinuations; his statements can have no effect on his Majesty's Ministers, who well know with what persevering importunity the wishes of the Institution have been urged on this point. Even in the last year, during which the Directors rejoice in contemplating the progress that has been made in this great cause, through the exertions of those Ministers, there has been a constant communication of suggestions and information, on the part either of the Board, or of some of the Directors under its sanction, both to the Duke of Wellington and to Lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of supplying those distinguished characters with the materials on which to found their representations.—Mr. Thorpe hopes that Lord Castlereagh “will cease to communicate privately with these pilferers of his popularity.” Lord Castlereagh is well entitled to the thanks of his country, and of the world, for his able, persevering, and successful efforts at the Congress in this cause; but Lord Castlereagh himself will not scruple to admit that these efforts have been in no small degree assisted by communications received from members of this Board.

23. Mr. Thorpe's concluding charge is thus expressed:—“I have *no time* for condensation; not even for sufficient correction. All I could do privately I have done, but my exertions were vain. I wrote to you from Africa; I spoke to you here; Mr. Allen persuaded you to call me before a *Committee of the African Institution, which I found to be made up of select friends of the party, and a few disinterested and amiable, but timid men.* I expected nothing,

and was not disappointed. They considered it would be dangerous to impeach the management, curtail the patronage, or contract the mercantile interest, of an old directing servant and friend.

"You then importuned me, until I promised to make written remarks on your Reports, which I assured you were 'delusive and fallacious from beginning to end.' I complied with your request, and satisfied you I said nothing that I would not write; or that I would write nothing I could not prove; for I concluded my introduction thus: 'I only request, in return for the trouble I have taken, that if I have said or written any thing on which a doubt can hang, that I may be called on for further proof, and it shall be immediately given.' Yet in private it was whispered there was no proof of what I had said or written though I offered it, and though I caused to be brought before you three of the oldest, most intelligent, most respectable, and most independent gentlemen you yourselves ever sent to the Colony; for Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Vanneck, and Mr. Nicol were all servants to the Sierra Leone Company, and afterwards held considerable offices under the Crown. But every thing beneficial to Sierra Leone, Africa, or England, to support your own professions or promises, to expose the defalcation of funds, or the aggrandisement of individuals, was to be prohibited: every sacrifice was to be made to concealment; no inquiry to be instituted; no attention paid to any representation; lest exposure should tear the pillars from under the Temple of Promise, and the fame of the very elders perish in the ruins."

Now the fact is, that Mr. Thorpe had made almost all the charges contained in his pamphlet, considerably more than a year ago, viz. in December 1813, although he now complains of having no time for condensation or correction. He admits, however that a Committee of the African Institution was appointed to inquire into these charges, but he endeavours to discredit its labours. The Committee consisted of Mr. Brougham, Chairman; Lord Calthorp; Mr. Allen; Mr. Babington; Mr. Clarkson; Mr. Forster; Mr. G. Harrison; Mr. Thomas Harrison; Mr. Macaulay; Mr. Stephen; Mr. H. Thornton; Mr. Whishaw; and Mr. Wilberforce. They sat for about twenty-two days, and from four to five hours each day, and prosecuted the inquiry with the utmost diligence and attention. They examined Mr. Thorpe himself. They examined also Messrs. Hamilton, Vanneck, and Nicol, the three gentlemen of whom he speaks as highly respectable and intelligent; and the result was the falsification of the charges of Mr. Thorpe, and a report in unison with that which is now made.

Mr. Thorpe intimates in his pamphlet the probability of his being suddenly ordered back to Africa, as the reason for its appearing at the very critical moment, for the general interests of the Abolition-question, in which he thought proper to publish it. This intimation is evidently intended as an answer by anticipation to the charge to which he had exposed himself of being indifferent, or even hostile to the cause of Africa. He knew, however, at the time of the publication, that his return to Sierra Leone had been countermanded by Government; and he also

knew, that negotiations were actually pending with foreign Governments on the subject of the slave trade, to which his pamphlet was calculated, in proportion to the credit it might receive, to give an unfavourable turn. It was fortunately, however, too late, by two or three weeks, to produce any effect on the measures of Congress. Its deliberations on that subject had happily closed before Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet could reach Vienna; and recent events have deprived it of all power to retard the progress of Abolition in France.

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It now only remains to observe, that in addition to the numerous and unfounded charges which have been already refuted as affecting the Sierra Leone Company and the African Institution, two most respectable members of each have been selected as particular objects of Mr. Thorpe's animadversions.

The charges brought against Mr. Wilberforce are too vague to be met, and too weak, as well as groundless, to require a serious refutation\*.

There is only one observation upon the sentiments

\* Mr. Thorpe, for instance, asserts, at p. 43, that Mr. Clarkson "was certainly engaged in this great cause twenty years before he enlisted Mr. Wilberforce under his banners;" when it is known to every one acquainted with the rise and progress of the Abolition-cause, that Mr. Clarkson *began* his honourable career in it, by the publication of an Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the human Species, in 1785, and that Mr. Wilberforce, after much previous preparation, introduced the subject to the notice of the Legislature, in an admirable speech, in the Session of 1787-1788.

ascribed to this gentleman which can be at all worthy of notice. Mr. Thorpe quotes a passage from the "Letter to Prince Talleyrand;" and, with his usual boldness of misrepresentation, gives it as an avowal, that "it is not slavery, but the slave trade, that Mr. Wilberforce dislikes." This interpretation is put upon a passage in which that gentleman labours to clear up the mistake, still prevalent on the Continent, of confounding the Abolition of the slave trade, with the immediate emancipation of the Slaves in the Colonies. Mr. Wilberforce, in common with all the most distinguished advocates of the Abolition, is anxious to shew, that a mere cessation of the importation of Slaves cannot occasion those dangers which might justly be apprehended from the sudden emancipation of men, most of whom must be destitute of those habits which are necessary for enabling them to act with propriety as freemen; and from this argument, Mr. Thorpe, with a remarkable disregard of candour, draws the conclusion, that Mr. Wilberforce does not look on the continuance of slavery as an evil deserving of any attention.

It is well known, that the friends of Abolition are the less inclined to recommend any hasty or violent measures for emancipation, because they are convinced, that if new importations of Slaves be *completely* and *effectually* prevented, this of itself must produce a material and progressive improvement in the condition of those already in the Colonies, so as to lead *in time* to their emancipation. Through a similar progress, the peasantry of our own country, and of the greater part of Europe, have risen from

the condition of serfs to that of free labourers, by means of a number of indulgences granted from time to time by the masters themselves, merely from a regard to their own interest. Experience taught them that it was better policy to bribe their Slaves to be industrious, than to attempt compulsion ; and from this motive one privilege has been conferred after another, till in the end all that distinguished the condition of a slave has been annihilated. The same causes will produce the same effects in the West Indies as in Europe ; and however slow this progress may be supposed to be, history demonstrates that it is sure and invariable,—for, along with the advancement of civilization, domestic slavery has disappeared in every country where it has not been kept alive, either by the practice of enslaving prisoners taken in war, or by the importation of Slaves from countries where that practice subsists.

These views have been so often explained to the public that no man of common information, and of a decent regard to truth, could have represented a line of conduct founded upon them as implying indifference to the continuance of negro slavery. But when we are told, in addition to this, that the conduct of Mr. Wilberforce has been uniformly directed by a base and mercenary project for raising tropical produce in Africa by means of Slaves, (and that in a settlement where by law no man can be detained in a state of slavery,) one cannot but feel the highest astonishment at the effrontery of the libeller.

With respect to Mr. Macaulay, the charges against him being mostly of a personal nature, and

founded on extracts of letters written by him in confidence, and which cannot be understood without a reference to their context, he has himself undertaken the refutation of those calumnies \*, for which reason only they are not noticed here.—There are, however, some points which seem rather to fall within the province of this Report. The assertion that he has obtained valuable advantages, both from the Sierra Leone Company and from the Institution, by his influence over their leaders ; such as nearly a monopoly of the trade, great freight for his ships, and the whole controul of every thing attached to the Colony, as well as the arrangement of the offices and of persons to fill them, though easy to be refuted in the most satisfactory manner, the Directors think it unnecessary to do more than to meet with a direct and unqualified denial.

The charge of receiving a sum of 107*l.* is founded on the following circumstances :—

At the commencement of the African Institution, Mr. Macaulay, whose extensive acquaintance with the state and interests of the country in question, was well known to many of the parties then associating, was requested to do them the favour of acting as *pro tempore* Secretary. Having kindly undertaken the office, and executed it most ably and zealously for four years, he solicited to be released from a burthen which daily became more inconvenient ; but at the urgent instances of the Directors, reluc-

\* See " A Letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Institution, from Zachary Macaulay, Esq." printed for Hatchard, 190, Piccadilly, and Richardson, Cornhill.

tantly consented to hold it for yet a short time, when, at the next anniversary of the Society, the present respectable Secretary having generously consented to relieve him, Mr. Macaulay's resignation was accepted. Such, however, was the opinion of a general meeting, more than usually numerous, that a mere vote of thanks, in the most respectful terms, was deemed wholly insufficient to express their obligation; and, in opposition to his repeated remonstrances, he was requested to accept a piece of plate, of 100 guineas value, as an inadequate testimony of their gratitude for the highly valuable services which he had gratuitously rendered to the Institution for five years. Of these particulars, known to almost every member of the association, and published to the world, Mr. Thorpe could scarcely have been ignorant at the very moment when, in an address to the public, he deliberately chose to stigmatize the transaction as "profuse" and "eleemosinary." "Eleemosinary," it is supposed, because Mr. Macaulay had uniformly and strenuously refused every thing like remuneration, even in the shape of compliment;—and "profuse," because that compliment which was at last forced upon him, did not cost one-eighth of what he had actually saved to the Society by the service he had performed. Can Mr. Thorpe deny one word of this statement? If not, will he, as a judge, decide what epithets are due to the author of such a misrepresentation?

The fact respecting the premium paid to Mr. Macaulay, on the importation of rice, was precisely as follows:—



A Resolution had been made by the Directors, in the year 1808, that a premium of a piece of plate, of the value of 50 guineas, or the same sum in money, should be given to the person who should *first* import into this country the largest quantity, not less than 10 tons of white rice, the produce of the Western Coast of Africa, in a clean marketable state. The object was obviously to encourage the cultivation of that article for sale. In 1813, the commercial house of Messrs. Macaulay & Co. claimed the premium for having imported not *ten*, but nearly 100 tons of such rice. They preferred and received the honorary reward; but Mr. Thorpe has omitted to inform the public, that the premium was no sooner awarded, than the whole amount of it was immediately paid in by Messrs. Macaulay & Co, as a Donation to the funds of the Institution.

The Directors feel, that they should be deficient in justice to a most able, meritorious, and indefatigable member of the Institution, and friend to the common cause in which they are engaged, if they were not to express, in the most positive terms, the indignant sense which they entertain of the virulent, though fruitless, endeavours which have been made to sully his high and well-earned reputation, and to diminish the usefulness of his exertions for the interests of humanity.

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The Directors have now completed their laborious comment on a publication which they think they have shewn to be entitled to little respect from any

intrinsic merit, and on which nothing but the judicial character of the author could have bestowed sufficient importance to have called for any reply.— They therefore regret, that a circumstance merely adventitious should have created an opinion in some respectable friends, of the expediency of entering into such length of detail as must appear tedious to all who are not deeply interested in the subject. But, in the conclusion, they console themselves with the confident persuasion, that this exposition of the series of proceedings respecting Africa will not only set the question at rest with almost all those persons whose opinion is worthy of regard, but will have the farther good consequence of increasing the public attention to their great and interesting cause, and of enabling them to prosecute their course with more vigour and effect.

To some they may seem to have spent too much time in a gratuitous and unnecessary defence of the Sierra Leone Company; but the allegations against that respectable and disinterested body, are so mingled and confounded, probably on purpose, with the attack on the African Institution, and on some gentlemen who have belonged to both, that it was not only difficult to separate them, but neither could the Directors wish, merely for the sake of shortening their own task, to permit so many calumnies to pass unnoticed.

For any severity of expression towards Mr. Thorpe, should his accusations or his proofs appear too frivolous to provoke it, the justification may fairly be found in the flippant malignity of the accuser;—

The Directors of the African Institution remain, therefore, the only objects; who, not having ever received, or even solicited, either powers or aids from the Legislature, are not, in the usual course of affairs, accountable to it. By their own constituents, the Subscribers who elect them, they are at all times liable to be questioned, and have ever cheerfully afforded to them every information.

And to these Directors Mr. Thorpe having made complaints, a Committee of Inquiry was instituted, whose proceedings have been already mentioned; and the result not answering his purposes any better than the Reports of the House of Commons, his judgment and his temper have led him to denounce the members of that Committee as partial or incapable. But does this afford the least presumption that they deserve the imputation?

To conclude: the Directors of the African Institution really do not acknowledge any responsibility to Mr. Thorpe. They are not aware that he has acquired a right of demanding a scrutiny into their concerns, merely by having had the effrontery to launch against them a virulent and slanderous invective, which they have thought fit to repel; nor are they disposed to give him a consequence, to which no other circumstance entitles him, by taking the slightest notice of any thing which he may in future think it for his amusement or his interest to utter to the world,

# APPENDIX.

## A.

### GENERAL VIEW OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY.

1. *Estimate of the Company's Expenditure during the first three Years of the Colony: namely, from January 1792, to December 1794\*.*

IN Provisions granted by the Company to the Nova-Scotians, about .....	L.20,000	0	0
In providing Shipping, for the temporary Accommodation of the Colonists, and other shipping Expenses, about .....	30,000	0	0
In Buildings, about .....	25,000	0	0
In laying out Lands, and in Cultivation, about .....	5,000	0	0
Value of the Goods consumed in the Company's Store Ship, which was accidentally burnt†, about .....	15,000	0	0
Salaries of Servants, Expense of Passage, &c. ....	12,500	0	0
Expense of Home Establishment, Act of Incorporation, &c., about .....	4,000	0	0
	<u>L.111,500</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

This amount is exclusive of the loss caused by the destruction of the Colony by the French, estimated at upwards of 50,000*l*.

\* When Freetown was captured by the French, towards the close of 1794, all the colonial books of account were consumed in the general conflagration of the Company's buildings. It was not possible, therefore, to do more than to form an estimate of the previous expense, as nearly as the data which the Directors possessed enabled them to do.

† The value of the ship is included in the second item.

*2. Abstract of the Company's Expenditure, between the 1st of January 1795, and the 31st December 1799, being five Years.*

Salaries of Civil Servants.....	L.14,508	4	3
Department of Instruction .....	3,442	7	7
Medical Department .....	2,472	3	5
Cultivation, including Premiums, and the Expense of an Expedition to procure Plants, Seeds, &c.....	3,808	8	0
Contingent Expenses of all kinds, including Colonial Defence, the Expense attending Shipping for the Accommodation of the Colony after its Destruction by the French, Expense of Servants' Passages to and from the Colony, the Loss on Buildings, &c. &c.	10,501	11	8
Expense of Home Establishment; including House Rent, Clerks, Office Expenses, &c....	3,039	3	0
	<u>L.37,771</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>

This amount is exclusive of all commercial charges and commercial losses, captures of ships, &c. Neither does it include the actual value of the various buildings erected in the Colony at the Company's expense during the above period.

*3. Abstract of the Company's Expenditure from the 1st Jan. 1800, to the 31st Dec. 1807, being eight Years.*

Salaries to Servants of the Company abroad, including Expense of their Passages to and from the Colony .....	L.34,106	13	4
Expense attending the obtaining of a Charter of Justice .....	1,393	5	2
Expense attending the Department of Instruction in Africa and England (exclusive of the Salaries of Teachers at Sierra Leone) .....	4,193	12	3

Brought forward ...	L.39,693	10	9
Expense of Medical Department, exclusive of Salaries .....	1,570	18	0
Expense attending Cultivation, Premiums to Settlers, &c., exclusive of Salaries.....	2,027	16	11
Expense attending the Erection of Fortifications, and other Public Buildings; Ordnance, and Ordnance Stores; the Payment of a Military Force formed of the Settlers, for Colonial Defence: the Charges of the War with the Natives, &c. &c. ....	67,769	3	11
Contingent Expenses, including House-rent, Stationary, Expense of Police and Courts of Justice, Presents to Native Chiefs, and a Variety of Miscellaneous Expenses, not reducible to any distinct Head .....	13,281	12	4
Salaries to Servants in England .....	5,609	0	0
	<u>L.129,951</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>

The above abstract is exclusive of commercial losses, particularly from capture by the enemy, which were considerable, and commercial salaries.

Of the above amount, there was received from Government 96,519*l.* 8*s.*

## B.

EXTRACT ON THE SUBJECT OF THE JOURNEY TO TEEMBOO OF MESSRS. WATT AND WINTERBOTTOM, FROM THE APPENDIX TO THE ACCOUNT OF MR. PARK'S LAST MISSION TO AFRICA.

With reference to the internal geography of Africa, the writer may take this opportunity of observing, that next to the African Association, to whom we are indebted for almost all

the authentic information which we possess upon this subject, considerable praise is due to the Sierra Leone Company, under whose auspices, during the time they were in possession of that Colony, several important journies into the interior were judiciously undertaken, and successfully executed. Among these may be mentioned, an expedition, in 1794, by Mr. Watt and Mr. Winterbottom, being a land journey of near five hundred miles, in going and returning by different routes to Laby and Teemboo: both of them considerable towns, and the latter the capital of the Foulah country. Tombuetoo appeared, from the inquiries made by the travellers, to be well known at both those places, and the communication with that city from Laby, though it was spoken of as a journey of four moons, was represented to be open, and they were furnished with many particulars of the route. Shortly afterwards, in consequence perhaps of this information, a project was formed at Sierra Leone, of sending out a Mission to Tombuetoo; but Mr. Watt, who was to have undertaken the journey, died, and the invasion of the Colony by the French in September 1794, together with the destruction which followed, seems to have put a stop to expeditions of this nature.

The Editor has been favoured by Mr. Macaulay, late Secretary of the Sierra Leone Company, and formerly Governor of the Colony, with a sight of the Journals of the expedition to Teemboo, as well as of some other Missions from Sierra Leone, of inferior importance. They do great credit to the writers, (especially the Journal to Teemboo), and contain many valuable and interesting particulars, several of which have been given to the public in the Reports of the Sierra Leone Company, and in Dr. Winterbottom's judicious account of the native Africans in the neighbourhood of that Colony. But there is still room for a compilation or selection from these journals, which, if well executed, would be an instructive and interesting publication.—*Last Journal of Mr. Mungo Park. App. p. cviii.*

## C.

**EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, TO GOVERNOR THOMPSON, DATED 20th OCT. 1808.**

We have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th July, which treats exclusively of the violation of the principles of our Institution by our chief servants abroad, and more especially by our late Governor, Mr. Ludlam, through the countenance which he gave to the introduction of the system of indented servants, in the case of certain Slaves taken in the month of March last, by Captain Parker, in ships supposed to be American; for each of which Slaves, Mr. Ludlam permitted those who received them to give twenty dollars to the captors.

We have in the first place to observe, that the transaction in question took place subsequently to the transfer of the Colony to the Crown, and therefore under the authority not of the Sierra Leone Company, but of the King's Government, and without our privity or instructions. Indeed, the previous transfer of the Colony had deprived the Company of all right to controul the conduct of those who were appointed to govern it. We cannot, therefore, help expressing our surprize that you should consider us a party implicated in the transaction which is the object of your animadversion, and still more, that you should begin your letter by representing the Company as having, through that very transaction, "by means of their agents, turned slave-traders themselves."

The intelligence contained in your letter, that slavery has always existed in the Colony of Sierra Leone, is certainly new to us. We are bound, however, to question the accuracy of information so contrary to the tenor of that which we have been accustomed to receive, and implying so uniform an indis-



position in our Governors to execute the laws provided for this very object, unless we receive more decisive proof of its truth than is implied by your dispatch.

This is, in fact, all that we are called upon to say in reply to your letter, the general subject of which it is for his Majesty's Ministers to discuss. We think it right, however, to remark, that we feel the force of many of your objections to the principle of authorizing indented servants; but it is obvious that they are in no degree applicable to our proceedings, however they may apply to the Legislature, and to the members of his Majesty's Privy Council, who have sanctioned that principle, and in conformity to whose intentions Mr. Ludlam appears to have acted, in the disposal of the Africans taken by Capt. Parker.

Had these Africans been regularly condemned as prize, we conceive that Mr. Ludlam would not only have been authorized, but required, to enlist them into his Majesty's service, or to bind them apprentices agreeably to the provisions of the Abolition Act, and of the Order in Council founded upon it. Whether the principle adopted in that Act and in the Order in Council be right, is another question. In the present case, indeed, the Slaves had not been condemned. This, doubtless, forms a material consideration in discussing the *legality* of the transaction. Nevertheless, it appears to us perfectly unjust to censure Mr. Ludlam as the restorer of the slave trade, merely because he applied the general directions of the Abolition Act to a difficult and unforeseen case, respecting which he had received no instructions. The words of the Act of Parliament are these: "Provided always that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and such officers civil and military as shall by any general or special order of the King in Council be from time to time appointed and empowered to receive, protect, and provide for such natives of Africa as shall be so condemned either to enter and enlist the same, or any of them, into his Majesty's land or sea-service, as soldiers, seamen, or marines, or to bind the same, or any of them, whether of full age or not, as apprentices, for any term not exceeding fourteen years, to such person or persons,

in such place or places, and upon such terms and conditions, and subject to such regulations as to his Majesty shall seem meet, and as shall by any general or special Order of his Majesty in Council, be in that behalf directed and appointed, and any indenture of apprenticeship duly made and executed by any person or persons to be for that purpose appointed, by any such Order in Council, for any term not exceeding fourteen years, shall be of the same force and effect as if the party thereby bound as an apprentice had himself or herself, when of full age, upon good consideration, duly executed the same, and every such native of Africa who shall be so enlisted, or entered as aforesaid, into and of his Majesty's land or sea forces, as a soldier, seaman, or marine, shall be considered, treated, and dealt with in all respects as if he had voluntarily so enlisted or entered himself."

We certainly think that Mr. Ludlam was to blame in allowing twenty dollars to be paid by the persons taking the Africans, to the persons who captured them; and we expressed this opinion on our first hearing of the transaction. The difficulties, however, which must have embarrassed Mr. Ludlam at the moment, in deciding on a case which was wholly unprecedented, certainly entitle his conduct to the most indulgent consideration; nor can we agree that the transaction ought to be confounded with that of a sale of Slaves. The sum thus paid in the way of premium of apprenticeship, ought, as we conceive, under the new circumstances, which have arisen, to be recovered from the captors, and restored to the Colonists who paid it, and in any case, it seems hard that they should lose it, and be also deprived of the services of their apprentices. The Colonists acted under the authority and guarantee of the existing Governor, and in a case which must have seemed to them to be within his province; and we fear that some dissatisfaction may arise in their minds, as well as some prejudice be done to the general character of the Sierra Leone Government, if the proclamation annulling the whole transaction shall remain unaccompanied by any intimation of an intention to take measures for restoring to them the sum in question.

## D.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE  
OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION, FROM THE MONTH OF  
MARCH, 1807, TO THE 31st DECEMBER, 1814.

The whole Receipts have amounted, as is stated in the Report, to 9850*l.* The whole expenditure has been 8697*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* viz:—

Collector's Commission on the Subscriptions.....	L. 329	18	0
Salaries of Clerks.....	650	0	0
Porterage, Postage, Carriage of Reports, hiring Rooms for Meetings, Rent of Office, Furniture, Books, and Maps, and various incidental Expenses .....	1214	2	6
Advertisements in the Newspapers, and insertions containing Information relative to the Slave Trade, &c....	237	16	0
Printing Reports of the Institution, Summaries, Tracts, and Addresses, Papers for Distribution in Navy, Summonses, &c. &c. ....	1126	7	7
Translations of Tracts into Foreign Languages, and printing and circulating the same; also the aiding of Works adapted to the West-India, &c. ....	650	9	6
Expense attending Captain Paul Cuffee's Journey to London; rescuing a Free Man of Colour from Slavery, and sending Native Africans back to their own Country.....	202	5	6
Education of African Youths for Schoolmasters, their Maintenance and Passage-Money; Salary of Teachers and their Out-fit, School-books, &c. ....	728	4	10
Expense of procuring and transmitting various Seeds and Plants and Machinery to Sierra Leone.....	400	16	7

Brought forward...	L.5630	0	5
Expense of Law Proceedings instituted against Persons engaged in the Slave Trade .....	768	2	10
Expense of a Piece of Plate, Premiums, &c.....	265	2	0
Expense attending the Petitions presented to Par- liament on the Slave Trade in 1814 .....	1665	0	0
	<u>L.8537</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>

## E.

Colony of Sierra Leone, Sept. 1, 1812.

His Excellency Charles William Maxwell, Governor in Chief  
of Sierra Leone, Goree, and Senegal, &c. &c. &c.

*Dr. to James Biggs,*

For Diplomatic Services rendered to his Majesty for the  
Purpose of carrying into Effect the 51st Geo. III. c. 23.  
enacted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

March, 1812.

To writing four Letters to Mr. William Shelton, to  
persuade him to come from the Soosoo Country  
to the Colony of Sierra Leone, to renounce the  
Slave Trade, and to become an Evidence for  
the Crown against the Slave Traders of the Rio  
Pongas .....

To writing two Letters to Benjamin Curtis, for the  
same purpose .....

To writing to Mr. Samuel Perry, for the same  
purpose .....

To writing one Letter, for the same purpose, to  
Mr. Stiles, E. Lighthouse .....

To writing one Letter to the Rev. Melachizar  
Besser, in order to prevail on him to co-operate

- in the Views of his Excellency Governor Maxwell, in the Suppression of the Slave Trade.....
- To writing one Letter to the Rev. Mr. Wenzel, for the same purpose .....
- To writing one Letter to Wm. Salter Sanders, Esq. Commander of his Majesty's Colonial Schooner, Princess Charlotte, advising his Conduct towards the Inhabitants of the Rio Pongas.....
- To writing one Letter to Mrs. Hind, persuading her to give Information relative to British Subjects whom she might know to continue in the Slave Trade .....
- To writing a Letter of Instruction to Wm. Salter Sanders, Esq. respecting Samo's Writing-desks at the Isles de Los and the Rio Pongas .....
- To writing one Letter to Mr. Malcolm Brodie, to prevail on him to become a Crown Evidence against the Slave Traders .....
- To writing one Letter to R. W. Cunningham, for the same purpose.....
- To writing to Mr. John Holman, for the same purpose .....
- To communicating, in person, his Excellency Governor Maxwell's Message to King Munga Katty, and other Chiefs of the Soosoo Nation.....
- To explaining to the above Chiefs, and all the Slave Traders in the Rio Pongas, the British Acts of Parliament relative to the Slave Trade.....
- To effectually persuading six of the chief Slave Traders to come to the Colony of Sierra Leone, to renounce the Slave Trade, and appear as Evidence for the Crown of Great Britain.....

N.B. In the execution of the whole of the above arduous duty, which lasted thirteen days, from first to last, Mr. Biggs was constantly exposed to the violence and stratagem of the natives of the Soosoo country; encouraged by some of the Whites. Mr. Biggs had to travel by sea and land to accomplish the instruc-

tions of his Excellency Governor Maxwell; and though the task was difficult and eminently dangerous, in an ill state of health, and a dreadful climate, Mr. Biggs completely effected the purpose of the Governor, and brought to conviction the "father of the Slave Trade," who, without these exertions, must inevitably have escaped with impunity, and thus great detriment would have been done to his Majesty's benevolent intentions towards the enslaved inhabitants of Africa.

## F.

### EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

There is one very important part of the Society's plans on which your Committee beg permission to dwell. It is the establishment of Christian Institutions, under the protection of British authority, in the most favourable stations for diffusing the light of truth among the heathen. In these Institutions, it is proposed that provision shall be made for training up the native youth in the knowledge of agriculture and the simple arts, and in qualifying some of them to become teachers of their countrymen, and others, if it shall please God, preachers of the Gospel. These Institutions will serve as points of support to the exertions of the Society in their respective quarters; they may be rendered the asylums of its widows and orphans; and they will become, in various ways, a source of beneficent influence over the surrounding tribes. Such an institution is about to be established within the Colony of Sierra Leone. The Society has already four settlements on that coast, in which about two hundred native children receive Christian instruc-

tion. These settlements are subject to the caprice of the natives. But the Institution in question will be secure under the protection of the Colonial Government of Sierra Leone. His Majesty's Ministers have on this, as on every other occasion, manifested the utmost readiness to assist the designs of the Society, and to extend the moral and religious influence of this country.

It is proposed to receive into this Institution the multitudes of African children who are liberated from smuggling slave vessels. Any benevolent person who gives five pounds per annum may have the honour to support and educate one such child, and may affix to the child any name he pleases. The Committee are happy to report, that they have received nearly one hundred such names, and that the sum of about five hundred pounds is annually paid to the Society's fund for this object.

There has been of late a great accession to the Colony, of Africans of different tribes and languages, of whose moral and religious state no proper care has yet been taken. Of these, about 1000 are supposed to be children. A very laudable regard has been paid to education in the Colony, and exertions are now making in this respect; but the rapid increase of the number of these destitute children, by the liberation of them from slave smugglers, and the large increase which may yet be expected from the same source, demand more energetic and systematic efforts to rescue them from ignorance, and to train them up in the knowledge of Christianity, and of such occupations as may benefit themselves and their country.

On whom does this office of Christian charity so naturally devolve, as on the Church Missionary Society?

The efforts of the Society in Africa are wholly directed to the civilizing and evangelizing of the natives. A greater number of these natives, and of various tongues, are brought together in Sierra Leone than in any other place within the reach of the Society, and may be instructed there with more security than elsewhere.

As the Society's establishments increase in Africa, Sierra Leone will become more necessary as a point of support.

An asylum will be required for them, which may be prepared in the Colony with much greater advantage than in England.

Children received under the Society's care in the Colony, and brought up in Christian principles, would add rapidly to the moral influence of the Colony on the natives; and would become, under the Divine blessing, the means of extensively diffusing civilization and Christianity. They should all receive a good English education. Some of them should, at a suitable age, be apprenticed among the respectable Colonists to useful trades, or placed in service: others should be brought up, within the precincts of the Institution, in a thorough knowledge of the gardening and agriculture adapted to their country; while the most serious and promising youths should receive such farther education as may prepare them for being sent into the interior as schoolmasters, catechists, and ministers. Such as are likely to settle in the interior should be well instructed in the respective languages, by natives employed for that purpose. They might here receive, under proper teachers, such instruction in Arabic as might render them successful opponents of the Mahometans, and might place them as an effectual barrier to the inroads which they have long made on the natives. Every thing is to be conducted with a view to render them, under the Divine blessing, the best friends and enlighteners of their country.

A grant of land having been made to the Society by the Colonial Government, and the Society having requested a large addition to this grant, the way is prepared for an establishment adapted to carry these plans into execution. There a School-house should be erected on the national plan for 1200 or 1500 children, with a church or chapel for public worship, and suitable accommodations for the children, for a master and mistress, a missionary and his family; and ultimately, provision should be made for decayed missionaries, and widows or orphans of missionaries, all in a plain and substantial style. On the Society's land, such of the liberated as are industrious and of good character, and willing to conform to the regulations of the Establishment, should be encouraged to settle; allotments of land be made to them for cultivation,



for their own support, and assistance should be given to them in erecting suitable habitations, on a plan previously determined.

*The CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION OF SIERRA LEONE established and supported by the British Church Missionary Society, for the maintenance and education of African Children, and for the diffusion of Christianity and useful knowledge among the Natives, would be an honour to Britain and to the Christian name, and an incalculable blessing to Africa.*

Your Committee rejoice to add, that the proposal has been laid before his Majesty's Ministers, who have very liberally rendered the utmost assistance to this important design, and will place all the liberated Children under the Institution's care.

Your Committee have farther to state, that the prayer of a Memorial presented by them to Government, on the erection of a Church at Sierra Leone, and the augmentation of the Chaplain's salary, accompanied by another Memorial on these subjects, from that zealous and unwearyed friend of Africa, his Excellency Governor Maxwell, has been most readily granted.

In another part of the same Report it is stated, " Nearly 200 children are now maintained and educated in the different Settlements of the Society. At *Bashia*, Mr. Renner and Mr. Wilhelm are erecting a Church; and Mr. Wenzel is building another at *Capeffee*. At *Yongroa*, Mr. Nylander is enlarging his school, and proceeding vigorously in the preparation of elementary books, to teach the *Bulloms* their own tongue. The Gospel of St. Matthew will soon be forwarded to the Society to be printed. It will be the first book of the Word of God which has ever appeared in the native languages of this Coast. At *Gambien* (the new settlement of the Society), Mr. and Mrs. Klein are established with the prospect of a large school."

G.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. THORPE TO GOVERNOR  
MAXWELL, DATED AUG. 10, 1812.

My dear Sir,

The letter you transmitted yesterday has induced this which I have long contemplated; but first let me assure you that I never did, nor never intended to apply for leave of absence. I stated in representing the situation of the Vice-Admiralty Court, that no benefit could arise to me, as it was not probable I could remain here longer than six months, and I mentioned to you that I had done so. Surely after remaining three years and a half, before I came out, and after the noise it made, it would be absurd to apply for leave of absence after remaining only six months at my station. Illness, or the public service, are the only things that could induce me to move; and the call of either I should obey without waiting for leave to depart. Now I can assure you, on my solemn word, that I never did intend leaving you, until we had agreed and settled every thing that could probably effect an abolition, and then, by going to the fountain head, lend labour to carry it into execution. I never had an idea of going home full of schemes, and delivering them as my own. I never intended to appear more than an useful instrument by which you had made much exertion. When Commodore Irby and Captain Scobell applied to me on the subject of returning to England, I told them I would not leave you while I could be more beneficial here than in England; I certainly have written to Mrs. Thorpe, that I conceived every thing done that I could effect here; that I thought I could do much in England, and therefore she might soon expect me home: but you know that when the frigates are going, the bad weather will probably be over here; therefore, if the Almighty should spare my life for a few months, he may

X

preserve my health till April, and after that I am convinced you would not advise my continuing here on any account. It only now remains, my dear Sir, for you to determine how it would be most beneficial to the cause we are embarked in for me to depart. You will reflect on the state you found this Colony in, and *the improvements you have made*: I can add nothing after trying the Maroons. Next consider largely how extensively we have crippled the slave trade. We have closely bound up the Portuguese; we have terrified the Americans, and put to flight the Spaniards.

My decisions are all known: any one can follow them up. I cannot add to what I have done. But look to the great plan you have in view, and the short time you may be allowed for its execution. England has laboured to abolish the slave trade. That trade has been the means of every comfort the African Chiefs possess: we never can destroy it, until we provide some means by which they can otherwise preserve those comforts. That can only be done by presents and trade. England has wished to explore Africa, to civilize the country, and benefit by her trade. That cannot be effected by individuals exploring, and trifling presents. We must make the Africans open the road, come to us, be gratified and enriched. This can only be done by placing confidence in powerful individuals on the coast; by depositing presents for the chiefs in the interior, and leaving articles for trading with them. England, by her anxiety to abolish the slave trade, has withdrawn capital, reduced her flourishing ships, and diminished her nursery for seamen; but by putting down commercial companies, and extending military forts along the coast, you re-establish all those advantages, you engage the whole trade, you have power to secure it, you set up for England a new and a most productive trade: her capital and her ships you set afloat again; you augment her mariners beyond her conception, and you open such a means of recruiting her army as she never dreamt of. You have already induced some Chiefs to place the inhabitants, not Black, under your jurisdiction: continue this; it will be easily accomplished: extend it from Cape de Verd to Cape Negro: two years will effect it; you will then have extended the juris-

diction and exterritorial right of Great Britain over a quarter of the world she never expected. You will exclude the rest of the world from the African trade; and you will exclude the Africans so completely from others, that they cannot choose but trade with you. Here there is an extension of territory, an augmentation of trade, and an increase of land and sea forces sufficient to maintain every possession, without sacrificing the lives of her European inhabitants. Now I have delivered to you hastily a little of what my mind contains on this extensive subject. Pursue it: immortal fame rests on it: Africa will be civilized, freed, and conciliated; her population will bless you; England will be enriched; unforced mines unthought of explored, and the lives of thousands of her best people preserved. Honour, glory, wealth, and blessings hang about it. Be assured it is within your reach; it is not a leap by which you can fall; it is presented to your hand, only grasp it strongly. Sully received lustre from being the friend of the great Henry. To receive the same from you is all that I require. Every power of my mind shall be given to you: I will support you in every act: I will attend you in every step. Wherever I shall go it shall be to forward those objects. Whenever I can promote them by my presence, I will return, I will sacrifice domestic comfort, professional emolument, climate, health, and perhaps life. All I wish you to consider now is, when it will be best to go to England. If I do not go till April, we lose a year; if I get to Ministers by Christmas, our plans may be carried instantly. Believe me, in truth, I would rather go in April, on account of my health; but the time may go by. Consolidate your thoughts, put your mind on paper, and see if it will not be better to lay them before Government instantly. I think I could carry every thing into effect, and return after the next rains. It is a great cause; it is a great subject; consider it well, and I will be the instrument of carrying into effect what will be freedom to Africa, and prosperity to England.

Ever yours, with the truest esteem,

(Signed) ROBERT THORPE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. THORPE TO GOVERNOR  
MAXWELL, DATED 21st DEC. 1812.

I think, my dear Sir, the conviction of those two fellows\* for perjury, will be of very great service; it will purify the testimony given in the Vice-Admiralty Court, and help to terrify those fellows from coming to the Court.

The grand jury did not find the bill against Samo†. I hear it appeared that Miller took those boys away without Samo's knowledge, but do not think it probable he did so, without giving any remuneration. However the truth may be, it is best as it is.

There is one convicted of larceny, and one for an attempt to carry off a boy from Forā Bay‡; both those men, I think *would make soldiers*, and Nash Bailly appears so incorrigible, that he cannot be suffered to remain: *he is just fitted for a soldier.*"

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. THORPE TO GOVERNOR  
MAXWELL, DATED FEB. 23, 1812.

My dear Sir,

The loveable inhabitants of this place having determined that I must go to Lisbon in Mr. Becket's brig, I hasten to assure you, that if I had, or could determine on going, you should be the first acquainted with it; but shortly after the receipt of Mr. Peel's letter, I informed Lord Bathurst that it would not be in my power to remain after March. At the same time, if, after hearing what I had to relate on the subject of the slave trade, should my return be considered essential to carrying the abolition into effect, I would be at my post by the middle of December. I also promised Captain Scobell, that I should wait for his return, and could not feel justified in disappointing him. And now, my good sir, when you consider how

\* Alluding to Dunbar and another.

† This appears to be a fresh indictment subsequent to his pardon.

‡ A place within the local limits of the Colony.

wonderfully the Almighty has preserved my life, and spared my health, with the weight that I have about my neck, you would consider me unjustifiable in hazarding a third wet season. Besides, when you consider all the present circumstances, there seems an interval of rest in the slave trade. Should it revive, I may be stronger to meet it. The difficulties and doubts that are now on my mind will be removed. I cannot further aid the Colony or assist your administration. The land-granting department is established; the law, the rule of evidence, the practice, the costs, and forms in the Courts, all regulated as in England, as far as circumstances will admit. Every salutary act for the Colony seems to be passed; no one thing seems to require my remaining; and unnecessarily to sacrifice my life to the climate would be insanity. My being in England, I should hope, would beneficially aid the abolition. I will try to make it advancement to the Colony; and under present circumstances I am confident it may be made serviceable to yourself. Thus every thing appears favourable to my departure, every thing unfavourable to my remaining; but the time or vessel is doubtful. Mr. Becket will be too soon, and I see no prospect but from Mr. Roach, who promises to be here in May. Should I live, that might answer for going to England; but arriving so late might prevent my being able to return by Christmas, which might be desirable on account of the sessions. Now, on all these points, I beg your friendly advice and assistance, as it will principally lead my determination.—I am,

My dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

(Signed) ROBERT THORPE.

THE END.

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

4. **AG/ L. 1571**

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## ERRATA.

- P. 36. l. 14. *for the injustice in this case was, read, if there was any injustice in this case, which is denied, it would have been.*
- P. 73. l. 25. *for annexed specimens, read, specimens now presented to the meeting.*
- P. 81. l. 16. *for Bessho, read, Bissao.*

AN

# APPEAL

TO THE

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Allies,

AND

THE ENGLISH NATION,

IN BEHALF OF

POLAND.

London:

PRINTED FOR JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S STREET.


1814.

J G. BARNARD,  
*Skinner Street, London.*

*Dis.*  
*Reing*  
4-27-49  
66603

## AN APPEAL,

*&c. &c.*



**THE** astonishing successes of the Allied Arms have placed Europe in such a position, that those who formerly viewed negotiation with the enemy, and submission to his power, as the same thing, are prepared for a treaty of peace. It is most earnestly to be wished, that their expectations may not be disappointed; nor are the following observations submitted to the world, with the view of increasing the difficulties already in the way both of a successful prosecution and a speedy termination of the war. They are stated, in order to avert the evils which it is apprehended may result from neglecting them, at a moment when the course of events has placed the Allies in circumstances uncertain of continuance, and unlikely to return. This, at least, is manifest, that whether the work of peace or of war shall be their occupation, the state of Poland cannot long be disregarded, and the friends of European independence, the well-wishers to the happy union, which now prevails in the allied councils, must anxiously desire to see the way paved betimes for a settlement of that mo-

mentous question. Even if a treaty should, by a dispatch as precipitate as the career of victory which has taught us to expect it without alarm, be concluded before these pages meet the public eye, I am well aware, that it can give no lasting repose to the world, if its provisions embrace not the subject of the present reflections. I shall lament such a deed of rashness ; as a friend of prudent measures, a determined advocate of peace, I shall bitterly deplore so untimely a sheathing of the sword ; but I shall, at least, enjoy the satisfaction of having lost no time in warning my countrymen of their danger ; and when new wars shall speedily grow out of a hollow truce, granted without securities in the hour of victory, and founded upon an incongruous union of principle and injustice, I shall have the melancholy pleasure of knowing, that in the end, true repose can only be obtained through the maxims here exposed, although the headlong resolution to be deceived by a name, shall have prevented this warning from being heard.

Before entering upon the subject of these pages, I must stop to remove the objections which may, through misapprehension, be opposed to entertaining the question at all in the present state of things. I know, full well, its extreme delicacy. To mention Poland among the Allies, may, by some persons, be thought too offensive for the ordinary courtesies of society ; and, if by suppressing the name, we could also bury in oblivion all the

dreadful realities which it is fitted to raise up before our eyes; or even, if these scenes belonged only to the times that are past, and had no existence but in history, there might be some inducement to preserve a very guarded silence. Unhappily, however, the hateful subject forces itself upon us; if peace is pursued, the Prussian with half the Austrian share of Poland, forming the Duchy of Warsaw, must be disposed of; if the war is continued, it may be of some importance to learn, how the seventeen millions of Poles, whom neither good nor evil treatment has, for a moment, weaned from their romantic attachment to their country, or in the least degree incorporated with their foreign masters, may be gained over to that good cause, which the common enemy of European independence had so nearly ruined for ever by their means. But why, after all, should the subject be so painful to the Allies? No one of those great Princes themselves bore any part in the first dismemberment of Poland. The authors of that fatal event have long since left the world; and their sins have been heavily visited upon their unoffending children. The final partition too, was the work of statesmen now no more; and, if one illustrious personage survives who assented to it, we should recollect, that he was, from his situation, necessarily passive, inheriting the half finished treaty from his predecessor, and at the moment fighting on his other frontiers for existence. Whatever blame may be cast upon the conduct of the par-

titioning powers, (and assuredly, it would be difficult to speak too harshly of them) the fault lies with the dead, and their descendants are no more to be reprobated than the Rulers of England now are for the cruelties which, in former times, have been committed in the Eastern and Western worlds. How grave soever may be the charge against those powers, for their subsequent conduct in Poland, it falls rather upon the system than the individuals, and may be canvassed with as much frankness and publicity as any other question of national policy. Who, in this country, would feel any scruples about reprobating, in open day, the folly of the American contest, the employment of the Indians against our countrymen of the colonies, the use of the blood hounds against our revolted negroes, the Rohilla war, and the long catalogue of enormities, not merely permitted, but encouraged by the policy of our government in Africa, for a series of ages?

The system pursued in Poland, may, I apprehend, be as inoffensively discussed, when the object in view is not to blame any one, not to excite irritation in any quarter, but simply to shew by what changes in that system the interests of the Allies and of all Europe may best be promoted. The illustrious monarchs, who are now firmly leagued together for the liberation of mankind, have shewn themselves too disinterested, and too far removed above the paltry feelings which keep little minds in error, from the fear of avowing it by their improvement,

to make it conceivable, that they should listen to any such suggestions of false pride upon the present occasion. Their whole conduct has been one sacrifice of individual interests and personal feelings to the common cause;—every one has, in his turn, acknowledged, that he had once taken the wrong view, and engaged on the wrong side. History presents no such splendid picture of real greatness, as the union of mighty Sovereigns upon principles like these. When Alexander the Great overcame his passion for a woman, (and it is, perhaps, the only real title to the name which he has left on record) he did an act that shrinks into the shade beside any one of those victories over themselves, by which the Allied Princes have prepared the way for their triumphs over France. We are left in suspense, whether to dwell most fondly upon their treatment of Moreau, or their deference to the Crown Prince. But, perhaps, there is nothing more touching in the story of real life, than the Emperor of Russia yielding up his quarters to the Austrian Generalissimo, and always suspending every care of his own comfort, while that of the Allied Commander remained unprovided for. The more ordinary virtue of courage which those monarchs have so amply displayed in the field, is not to be mentioned after this. And I am sure, that no man will deem it a rash attempt to speak truth for the good of their subjects, and of the common cause, before personages who have shewn themselves thus wholly



devoted to the interests of their country and of Europe.

The part which the Poles have taken with France, both in the present and in the former wars, is likely to be urged as a reason against our feeling that interest in their fate, which might otherwise be natural to us. This is a topic not easily to be used out of England; for, which of all the continental powers now ranged against France, has not at one period of this unnatural contest, been found leagued with her, and in truth, fighting under her banners? Yet, if we now recal the time, nor is it very distant, when a Russian army invaded the Austrian provinces, while Vienna was occupied by the French forces,—and the still more recent period, when the Prussian and Austrian troops formed part of the army, poured by France into Russia; it is not surely for the purpose of blaming those powers, because they yielded to a necessity, neither to be evaded nor controuled. They will assuredly be the first to feel that the mere circumstance of having co-operated with France, is not a sufficient answer to all that may be urged in behalf of the Poles. The people of this country will, perhaps, require another view of the subject. Happy in their insular situation, they have never been assailed by the awful tempest, before which the most sturdy independence in every other nation, has, in its turn, for a season been obliged to bend. They may not, at once, feel disposed to pardon those compromises between

principle and necessity, which the peculiar felicity of their own circumstances has spared them the occasion of ever seriously considering.

Let me then beseech them to reflect on the circumstances in which Poland was placed. I will close the discussion instantly, if they do not after a moment's pause acknowledge, that the Poles could not honestly have acted otherwise than they did—that they, the people of England, would in the same situation have acted in the self-same way. For, let us only ask ourselves how we should have done, had the case been our own. Suppose that the incurable folly of the government had alienated a considerable portion of its subjects, and thrown them for a moment of desperation upon the still more insane expedient of calling in foreign assistance; that availing himself of this pretext, our ancient enemy had poured his forces into a part of the empire, and establishing his power there, had afterwards extended his dominion over England itself. Let us fancy to ourselves this fair Island, which we love instinctively because it is our country, and rationally for the blessings we enjoy in it, seized by the lawless hands of Frenchmen and Italians, its venerable establishments despitely overthrown, its countless riches pillaged, its citizens massacred or dragged away into foreign slavery, or condemned to the more unbearable suffering of perpetual indignities near the homes of which they had been dispossessed. A few years of

such misery would surely not efface from our memories the picture of what England once had been. It may well be questioned, whether any one individual would live long enough to survive the recollection, that he formerly had a country to claim his gratitude and affection. It may be doubted, whether the excess of present misfortune would not make the remembrance of the lost enjoyment more sweet, and concentrate every thought, feeling, desire, passion of the soul in the single determination to regain it. A French general is rioting in every town, which is not beneath the notice of so considerable an oppressor. Commissions are assembled in each county to carry on the work of confiscation. The services of the most abandoned of both sexes in Paris are recompensed by grants of land wrested from such of our fellow-citizens as have most stoutly resisted the conqueror. The estates of our great proprietors are become the currency in which every baseness and treachery of our own countrymen is paid. The inhabitants are insulted, tortured, driven away in thousands to serve abroad, or to expiate by banishment from their country, the generous virtue which made them risk every earthly possession in its defence. Life has become indifferent, or burdensome upon such terms; the very semblance of English independence is gone; no man cares for himself; all other ideas are absorbed in the wish, not of blind revenge, but of restoring the lost coun-

try of our forefathers—when suddenly an occasion presents itself of driving the French away, and once more enjoying independence. Russia, which has always been our ally, which has helped us in our unsuccessful struggle, which has uniformly been hostile to our oppressors, is in open war with France, and has landed an immense army upon our coasts. Now this is the question—Shall we acknowledge the French, because they are our rulers *de facto* ; shall we remain quietly subject to them ; shall we take their part in the contest for our own liberation about to be fought on our own ground ; shall we join them against the Russians who come professedly to destroy their dominion, and to set us free ? The Englishman who blames the Poles for being deceived by France into a share in the late wars against Russia, must be prepared to maintain that he would himself in the case now put join his French tyrant against the Russians. But the case becomes infinitely stronger for Poland, when we reflect that she was in fact overrun by an immense force before the option was even given her whether she would arm for her tyrants in possession, or for her conquerors in expectancy, pretending to be her avengers. If any one can affect a doubt about the judgment to be pronounced on such conduct, or pharisaically insinuate that England would have carried herself differently, the following reflexions are certainly not addressed to *him*. I appeal to him who is not afraid to avow, that had he been a Pole he would

have grasped at any chance, even the forlorn hope of French protection, to save his sinking country. Poland has indeed been undeceived, but it is neither befitting the generosity, nor the justice, nor the wisdom of her sovereigns, to visit her with such a continuance of calamity as must, even after the experience of French perfidy, expose her to be again misled in her hopes of redress. How much more does it become England, who can have no interest except the future independence and happiness of her neighbours, and who can feel no resentments for the past, to exert her powerful intercession in favour of a gallant people, second only to her own children in love of liberty, equal even to them in devoted enthusiastic attachment to their native land—nay, let us acknowledge it, superior to ourselves in patriotism, because far more heavy sacrifices have been demanded by their unhappy country, than it ever entered into the mind of an Englishman that patriotism could require.

Let it not, however, be thought that I am about to urge the claims of Poland upon the Allies, as a matter of compassion, or as founded on the merits of its people. It was necessary before entering upon the question to remove a prejudice against them, which might have operated unjustly in the progress of the argument; but the question itself is one of strict justice and general expediency; it must be discussed like every other subject affecting the interests of nations; and I ask nothing in favour of

Poland, but what may be demanded for the sake of all the rest of Europe, and what the Allies most especially are bound to concede, if they preserve in their future operations the same enlightened regard to right principles and true policy, which has hitherto borne their banners in triumph from the Vistula to the Rhine.

The whole conduct of the war has proved that the powers united against France profess only one intention, the restoration of European independence, by prescribing bounds to the enemy. As far as an opportunity of proving the sincerity of their professions has hitherto been afforded, we have no right to call it in question. The time, however, is fast approaching, when it must be brought to a severe but an infallible test. The secret enemies of the coalition; the abettors of French oppression; they who have seen the progress of victory with a malignant eye—who could hardly dissemble their joy were a reverse unhappily to interrupt its course—the evil-disposed, of whatever description, throughout Europe, are now awaiting in anxious expectation the moment when every declaration of principle promulgated since the beginning of the contest, will be tried by a searching and unerring scrutiny. Their suspense may last for some time; the war may be prolonged, or the negotiations may proceed slowly; until the mutual offers of the parties are known, until the ultimate result is disclosed, all must continue to be taken upon trust. But the



decision of the question, how far the Allies act up to their principles, is assuredly pronounced as soon as the world sees the terms of the treaty. It is decided, and for ever, by every rational man in Europe, within an hour after those terms are made known to him. With it, too, is decided finally the fate of every future coalition for the liberation of Europe—of every future attempt which France may hazard to regain her lost usurpations. The enemies of the good cause are full of hope that the Allies will be found wanting to themselves, in this day of trial ; and that a scene will be disclosed similar to former negotiations—a combination of craft and violence, a balance of cupidity and fear, a base trucking of principles for territory, a cold-blooded barter of human beings by millions, in which the pattern of French treaties is closely followed, and the victorious parties take all they safely can, or shew any moderation they may have in their nature, only towards the conquered enemy—alienating their friends ; at once raising up their antagonists, and arming them with confidence by following their worst example ; securing the censure of impartial posterity, and laying the deepest groundwork of future discomfiture by abundantly deserving it.

I confess that I have no apprehension of seeing these frightful anticipations realized, at least in their most odious form. The state of the war in Spain, let us hope in Holland also, may prevent the possibility of the Peninsula, and the United

Provinces, being given up to French domination. But it is to the full as great an impeachment of the principles of the coalition to expect that they will only be followed where there is little temptation, and scarcely any opportunity, to swerve from them. The sincerity of the Allies must, I fear, be tried by a higher test. We shall be asked by the enemy and his well-wishers, how have they treated the sovereigns whom force alone drove into Buonaparte's toils? To abandon Spain or partition Holland was next to impossible. Bavaria had the opportunity of joining them—but have they made the conduct of Denmark and of Saxony a pretext for seeking indemnities at their expences? Have they required pay at the end of a service in which we had imagined they were volunteers? Does it turn out after all that the liberation of the continent means in the Russian Dictionary a new slice, being the sixth, of Poland? Does the balance of Europe in good Swedish signify a weighing of Finland against Norway; of pledges to Sweden against bargains with Russia; of the affections of the people against the interest or convenience of the crown? Is interminable war with French usurpation, the Prussian, for a war which is to end as soon as the Saxon villages shall be garnished with spread eagles? These questions, let us hope, will receive a satisfactory answer, in the result of the present negotiations; we may rest assured that they will be put by every honest and every thinking man in Eu-



rope. The true policy of the Allies is contained in a single word, which expresses their bounden duty also—*Restoration*. This word implies another, which all parties have an interest, though certainly a very unequal one, in freely using—*Forgiveness*.—That we should be fated to witness such a spectacle as the Elector of Saxony stript of his dominions to enrich Russia and Prussia, upon the ground of his having taken a title and a territory by treaty with the former, and joined the enemy in company with the latter, is a consummation earnestly to be deprecated by all those friends of kingly dignity who may not relish seeing it stoop to something very much in the nature of a practical joke.

Where statesmen and courts are concerned, it is good to be prepared for the worst; but I own I cannot, after the noble conduct we have recently witnessed, bring myself to regard such gloomy forebodings as any thing but imaginary. The Allies can only seek the independence of the continent; and their virtue will not be its own reward; they will have conquered for themselves a security to which they have all been strangers during the last twenty years. I shall assume it then as admitted, that satisfied with obtaining this inestimable blessing, and giving peace to a bleeding world, their only object is to ensure the permanence of the most glorious conquest ever won by human arms; to gather an imperishable fruit from unfading laurels.

It has been justly said by a distinguished statesman, that now our ears may be once more refreshed with the sound of the "Balance of Power." Refreshed indeed! It is like the music of a long forgotten air, awakening in the memory early and pleasing associations; or, the outline of a form long believed to be for ever lost. But that the scenes themselves should be renewed in their pristine reality; that the friend himself should be found again, is the delightful possibility which the success and the moderation of the Allies has taught us to contemplate. There wants no enchanter's art to effect this wonder; not another battle needs be fought for it; one more victory over themselves is only wanting. The concession depends not on the enemy; it is within their own grasp; they alone can do the deed, and whenever they will—let them restore the kingdom of Poland, and Europe, the World, Poland itself will bury the past in oblivion!

Whether the present contest is to be prolonged, or to be closed by an immediate treaty, the Allies can only expect a continuance of success in war, or their solid independence during peace from a recurrence to the principles formerly held sacred among the states of modern Europe. These may be summed up in a single proposition, that whatsoever power shall attack an unoffending neighbour, or in any manner of way aggrandize itself at his expence, shall meet with resistance to the aggression or acquisition in every other quarter. A sense of the neces-

sity of making common cause against ambition, whether powerful or crafty; of resisting its strides, and watching it when it crawls; of protecting the weak against the strong, and stepping forward to oppose even the smallest encroachments, in order that resistance may not come too late: in a word, a sense of political justice, and of the necessity of checking even the smallest deviation from it as dangerous in the highest degree to the common safety of nations, both by its example and its consequences, is as indispensably necessary for holding together the great commonwealth of Europe, as the prevention of the least deviations from common honesty, is essential to preserving the municipal bonds of society. This principle, originally founded upon the most obvious reasoning, had become the instinctive feeling of statesmen; and we owe to it the security and the prodigious improvement of our species in modern times. Thoughtless wits, and wrong thinking philanthropists have frequently amused themselves with describing its supposed abuses; and counting up the cost of wars carried on for the possession of a foggy sandbank, a fur station, or a few acres of snow at the other side of the globe. They might as well compare the punishments inflicted on malefactors with the amount of the property stolen. Unhappily there is but one way of preventing men from invading the property of their neighbours; you must make him suffer severely who steals even

a silver penny. The punishment is not to be compared with the penny stolen, but with all the benefits resulting from the security of property, which is gone if a farthing may be stolen with impunity.— So, it is much to be regretted that war is the only means which nations have of preventing aggression upon their rights ; but if all nations are aware that the invasion of an obscure creek or a barren acre will be assuredly resisted, the attempt to conquer provinces and empires will not rashly be made. Since the powers of Europe have given over fighting about such trifling matters, has war, I pray you, become less frequent, or less fierce ? Its results we know full well, have been the annihilation of dynasties, the traffic of kingdoms, the bandying about of millions of human beings like herds of cattle, the devastation of all established securities, whether of person or property, the universal empire of darkness, uncertainty and change. These have been the stakes of the new game ; have the players been less numerous, or less anxious for the sport, than when its event was harmless, and its cost inconsiderable ? Who does not see that the first step towards regaining our ancient security is to restore by every possible means, the sounder feelings of former times ; to reclaim statesmen and their subjects from the wild and lawless habits in which the political world has been unhappily living ; and to establish once more as the corner stone of public morality, the sacred regard to national independence which arms every

state against each violation of it, and disdains to calculate the amount of the encroachment, before it prompts an effectual resistance.

Every one must perceive that if the enemy were stript to-morrow of all his conquests since 1792, and reduced by treaty within his ancient limits, such an arrangement could of itself give no security against the recurrence of the same events that have already desolated Europe. Her only security must be found in the improvement naturally to be expected from a lesson so costly to the learner, as that which she has been taught. And if it does produce the effect of restoring statesmen to their former tender—I had almost said irritable—feelings respecting change of territory among their neighbours, and aggression of whatever kind upon national rights, a far less complete reduction of the French power will enable the rest of Europe to repose (certainly not to slumber) in peace.

The great relaxation of public principles, may be distinctly ascribed to the partition of Poland; for although the seizure of Silesia was an aggression almost as violent, it was not acquiesced in by the rest of Europe, but produced two obstinate and sanguinary wars, in which all the greater powers took a part\*. But the deed done in 1772, was

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\* The discovery of a design hostile to Prussia was the immediate cause of the war; but according to sound principle, this did not justify such a transference of territory.

permitted to be quietly perpetrated, though it was avowed by the parties as an open violation of the common law of nations, and carried through in the face of day. Yet this act left Poland a large, fertile, and populous kingdom; two-thirds of its inhabitants, three-fourths of its territory, most of its great towns, remained to form an independent country. There was a change too of infinite importance, produced by the partition; it had not only impressed the Poles with a sense of the evils of their constitution, the hot-bed of faction, and barren of every thing like vigorous and regular administration; it had awakened them also to a perception of the dangers of their intestine divisions, and the utter ruin that must ensue from appeals to foreign powers. The spirit was not extinguished which had leagued the Confederates of Barr against the Russian party, or arrayed almost all the people against the court, or marshalled the grandees in an unholy warfare with each other, while an enemy, in a friendly disguise, occupied the capital. But this spirit was wholly directed against the spoilers of the country, and guided not by blind, ineffectual violence, but by the wisdom which grows out of experience, and can make force effective. If the misgoverned Irish had in a luckless hour opened the gates of the empire to France, and half the island were gone, who can doubt that the remaining part would be defended by men no longer divided, and guided by rulers in whom bigotry



had ceased? But we need not speak of the probable event; the facts are before us; the Diet of 1788 presented the novel picture of entire unanimity, and radical reform. All remains of faction were dissipated\*; the whole exertions of the assemblies were pointed to the improvement of a constitution so vicious, that it could only be mended by new modelling, and by the establishment of a national military power, at once the fruit and the sustenance of public freedom.

It was the misfortune of the Polish patriots to choose the moment when men's minds were deeply engrossed by the grander scene exhibited in Paris, and keenly divided by the conduct of that terrible drama, for promulgating the celebrated Constitution of the Third of May, which was thus fated to excite far too little interest, and to be viewed through the medium of French politics, instead of being discussed on its own merits. Yet has this Reformation been allowed by all who candidly examined its arrangements, to be a monument of legislative wisdom. It extirpated at once those vices of the old government which could not bear a more gradual reform, as the elective crown, and *liberum veto*; others it left to decay of themselves, after attacking their roots, or destroying their support, while it entirely abro-

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\* The wretched delusion of the Confederation at Targowitz, which afterwards broke out, was confined to a mere handful of nobles, with one or perhaps two exceptions, destitute of character and credit.

gated abuses only existing in the letter of the laws, and already undermined by custom, as the oppressive rights of lords over their vassals \*. It introduced as much of the limited, mixed monarchy under which England flourishes, as the circumstances of the country would allow—for example, the inviolability of the monarch's person, the necessity of responsible advisers upon every occasion, and the separation of the judicial power; and it laid the foundation of further assimilations by the beneficent and gentle operation of time, in the developement of the new principles implanted in the system. To support this government and the national independence which was its primary object, the army was raised from twenty to one hundred thousand men, by the unanimous voice of the Diet, and with the loud acclamations of a whole nation, hitherto split into factions on every matter, the disciples of perpetual anarchy, and careless against whom they fought, provided the peace was constantly broken. Contributions were poured in from all quarters with an alacrity that outstript the circulating powers of the currency; and when the specie had been exhausted, the more cumbrous wealth of the nobles was moved towards the national treasury, while

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\* The maxim that *every man is free as soon as he touches the Polish territory*, was adopted in terms by this constitution. See art. IV.



their arms and their vassals were prepared to save its expenditure.

I question if the time be even yet come, when the miserable catastrophe can be adequately deplored, that paralyzed all those noble efforts, and blighted the fair prospect unfolded by them to the eyes of every friend of liberty. But one part of the calamity, that which pressed the most sorely upon the interests of the European community, will perhaps never be more deeply felt than at the present hour. I speak of the peculiar moment chosen by the confederate courts. The new constitution was enveloped in a cloud of foreign soldiery—the patriots were scattered abroad—the rudiments of the national army were dissipated—the country was overwhelmed, parcelled out, confiscated, jobbed, turned into money—blackened with garrisons, prisons, gibbets, cemeteries, and the desolate abodes of men who had perished for freedom—its separate existence finally destroyed—its name blotted out from the map, and forbidden to be any more uttered, as if it had been guilty of all the crimes whereof it had been the scene and the victim—but why enumerate particulars? do they not all fall short of the deed itself?—the Partition of Poland was completed AFTER the French Revolution had awakened slumbering royalty; had taught the force of France to burst through its ancient bounds; and had made national independence tremble in every corner of Europe.

This is the fact upon which, at the present moment, it imports us well to meditate. There is no getting over it. If Poland had been left as she was when those great changes began which the Allies are now occupied in undoing, she would still have been one of the greatest powers on the continent. She was seized when even the pretences of 1772 no longer existed—when she was a safe, orderly, and peaceable neighbour. But above all she was seized in 1793 and 1794, at the very time when France was seizing Savoy, Belgium, and Holland. This is the matter which *now* presses itself upon our attention. We are recurring to sound and ancient principles. We are treading back our steps in order to get out of the slough in which we have been since the French Revolution, and to regain the eminence of a pure morality. We are endeavouring to undo as much as possible the recent changes of dominion, and to place the affairs of Europe on their former ground, with all the benefits of past experience. With what pretension of consistency—by what powers of face, marvellous even in this unblushing age, can we meet either the enemy or the Poland, if the only change on which we are obstinately silent is one of the most momentous and the least justifiable, and which our conscience tells us was effected in the very same month with the conquest of the Netherlands, admitted on every hand to be the fittest subject of restoration?

A pernicious but very flimsy heresy has been

propagated on this question by some foreign politicians, the soundness of whose principles in other respects renders their mistakes the more dangerous. It has been said that the partition of Poland is now a mere matter of history, and that while the lapse of time exempts it from being again brought into discussion, the sanction of various treaties estops the parties to them from questioning it. This doctrine is so full of manifest absurdity, and so easily refuted by the whole system of those who adopt it, that one can scarcely imagine it to proceed from any thing but a misplaced delicacy towards the partitioning powers, and a determination to scare the enemy with big words and terms of law, from flinging at us a very favourite sarcasm in return for the many attacks of this kind to which we expose him. I would fain remind the very respectable persons to whom I am alluding, of the period at which they first treated this topic; it was immediately after the treaty of Luneville, in 1801, not seven years after the final partition, the greatest in extent, and the worst in all respects, except that it was not the earliest. Yet the advocates of this motley doctrine of a seven years limitation of anti-jacobin crimes, were the loudest against offences committed by France eight and nine years before the date of their invectives. Happily for Europe the same enlightened persons retain their influence over the popular opinions at the present day, and to it perhaps, next to the headlong rashness of the enemy and

the temperate firmness of the allied chiefs, we owe the late successes. I hope their voice will be heard in the negotiation, and in the further prosecution of the war, should just terms be refused by France —I am sure they will spurn at the idea of considering the French conquests in the Revolution war as sacred; and yet nearly twice seven years have elapsed since a treaty confirmed them; so that both their doctrine of limitation and of estoppel by treaties, is much more applicable to these than to the last Polish partition. England too and France, I should think, may be reckoned something in a question of this sort, and they never by any treaty recognised directly or indirectly the dismemberment. Yet England as well as the Allies themselves, by solemn treaties, recognised those French usurpations and new states created in the Revolution war, which all good men now hope to see restored to their ancient possessors. Even the Spanish usurpation was recognised by all the Allies in succession, except England.

But the Allies, I shall be told, look to the military possession which the war has given them of some countries, and to the restoration of the government in others, as Holland and Spain, by force of arms. Is it to be contended, then, that had no counter-revolution taken place in Holland, they would not have been justified in using the influence derived from their menacing attitude on the Upper Rhine;

in favour of the United Provinces? I question, after all, with every degree of respect for the Dutch patriots whose conduct rises higher the nearer we view it, whether the success of their cause rests on so firm a foundation in the events passing at the mouth of the Rhine, as in the greater operations towards its source. There is great reason to think, that if no Swedish objects had interfered, and the movement in Holland had not called thither any part of the Allied forces, the severance of the Netherlands from France would have been more effectually secured, without obtaining any military footing there, by the concentrated attack of the Allies in the South. In a negotiation founded upon the apprehension, or the success of such an operation, would any objections to making the liberation of Holland a *sine qua non* have been listened to, because it had been subjugated and made a republic twenty years ago, and recognised as such, by all the treaties with the Allies, in 1801? If the Peninsula had been still over-run by the enemy, and the Allies were only victorious on the Rhine, must they have refrained from requiring the freedom of Spain, because she has been six years under Joseph, and all the Allies but one, had acknowledged his dynasty by solemn treaty?—Really the argument does not merit being further pressed. We may ascribe it to the same unhappy state of things, which gave rise to all those

treaties and recognitions, and venture to hope that vanishing with them, it will give place to sounder and more consistent doctrine.

Some other reason, then, must be found out for the Allies by common consent avoiding the subject of Poland. First of all, why should England, the champion of Spain, and Portugal, and Holland, all of which at one period opened their gates to France, abstain from every expression of good will towards the Poles? It cannot surely be because Poland has no harbours where a little trade may be driven, no ships which may be taken into safe custody, no coast from whence Ireland may be invaded.—And yet I own that the unbounded joy which broke out upon the counter-revolution in Holland, did wear a very calculating appearance; and the fears always entertained of Ferrol and the Tagus, with the pleasing dreams of South American speculation, may to an ill-natured observer seem to have made the politics of the Peninsula more interesting, and our connexions with it peculiarly endearing. But then again; if such are our principles, our conduct towards North America seems a mercantile riddle; for the relinquishment of that immense market, upon a supposed point of honour, is rather irreconcilable with the notion that we can cheerfully drain our resources to the dregs upon a commercial principle, and refuse to say one word for a country not connected with us by the tender relationship of profit and loss. It is impossible such should be our

principle now, after all that we have experienced, and all that we have done. The nation which voluntarily abandoned a gainful traffic on principles of humanity and justice, or only from such an enlarged policy as foregoes immediate for permanent good, never can submit to be told that her conduct towards foreign powers hinges upon the point of present gain; that the only balance of Europe she knows is the balance of trade; that the only nations in whose fate she takes an interest, are those with whom dealings may be had—an account current opened—some little matter “*done* ;”—or that she can feel only for the wrongs of people with woolly hair, sable complexion, an uncouth tongue, and savage rites. But such a line of policy would be still more short-sighted than unprincipled or inconsistent; it would imply a disregard of every thing except immediate interests; a sacrifice of the future security to the present amount of our profits; a departure from the best principles of policy and of trade itself. If any proposition less than another requires demonstration after the history of the last six years, it is that the foreign commerce of England with the rest of Europe, depends upon the restoration of those sound principles upon which alone the Continent can be maintained in freedom from the military dominion of France.—The interests of England and of the Continent meet in the same point. Let us then see whether the restoration of Poland be not called for, by what.

ever regard the powers of the Continent may have for self-preservation.

We are no longer to speak of right, of justice, of principles; we are only to look to interest and expediency. But is it not expedient to do justice, and evince by acting upon principles, the sincerity of those professions which the people of Europe when appealed to, have so generously rallied around? The Cabinets of Princes have amply recognised the value of public opinion, and it has done wonders in their behalf. Is there a maxim in the philosophy of history more undeniable, than that public confidence once lost, can never be regained? Is it to be believed that a peace in which principle should be disregarded, could satisfy the just expectations of the European community? Can we doubt that the enthusiasm against France, excited by the appeals made to right and justice, and inflamed by the enemy's flagrant contempt of it—an enthusiasm perhaps most strongly kindled in the Austrian states where the scourge of conquest has not been felt—would speedily be extinguished, and succeeded by a fatal relapse into the notion that all Courts are alike profligate, when the disclosure of the treaty should prove that the Allies had exacted indeed ample sacrifices from others, but made none themselves, and that their lavish professions had cost them nothing but the blood of their subjects, or a treasure squandered in purchasing the chances of rich reversions?—If, indeed, war is no more to be



apprehended; if Europe once saved is secure for ever; it may be *safe* at least to throw off the mask, and avow an old fashioned carelessness about the voice of the people upon whose good will the courts intend not again to fling themselves. But he who looks to France with a calm understanding, and does not suffer his head to be confused with the shouts of present triumph, cannot permit himself to indulge in any such vision; and the Allies have asserted in the face of the world, that they expect her to be left after their utmost successes, more powerful than before she over-ran the Continent, and made the tour of its capitals.

I do not, however, mean to rest my argument on such general ground; I know it will bear the closest scrutiny when examined in detail. I undertake to shew that the restoration of Poland would prove an inconsiderable sacrifice to its present possessors, and that the loss would be more than counter-balanced by incalculable gain to themselves and all Europe.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any one accustomed to reflect upon the interests of nations, that the partitioning powers have derived little real benefit, even in an *economical* point of view, from their Polish acquisitions. In order to estimate the amount of this, we must not merely place in one scale the advantages of their intercourse with Poland, in its distracted state before 1772, and weigh against them, those which have accrued from the

same territory since that period. The anarchy which led to the partition is not the natural state of any country; it had reached its utmost height, and could not by possibility have endured, as it has done, for above forty years, had not the systems pursued more or less by all the three powers, kept it alive. The fair comparison to make is between Poland as it has been for more than half a century, and Poland, as it would have been if her neighbours never had interfered, and as it would be immediately, were independence and the constitution of the 3d of May restored. Let us only reflect upon the sacrifices which they have made for an augmentation of their revenues and armies, trifling indeed when we deduct the men and money that Poland has cost to keep and to govern it; an expence not likely to be materially diminished, while the Polish people retain their character, and the confederates have a foreign enemy to dread.

Poland is allowed to be one of the most fertile countries in the world, with a population of between sixteen and seventeen millions of inhabitants, who are characterized by strong natural abilities. The variety of the soil and minerals, makes it difficult to say what under better management it might not produce, and it enjoys the benefit of several large navigable rivers. In spite of all its disadvantages, it has long been celebrated (to pass over lesser articles) for abundance of grain, and of cattle

of every kind, especially horses ; while the salt mines in the south, are peculiarly adapted to the supply of the inland countries, and the immense forests advantageously situated for trade, are inexhaustible stores of the finest timber used in ship building. Hemp, flax, pitch, it also produces in unlimited abundance.

The countries to whom the trade of such a territory is naturally the most beneficial, are those which immediately surround it. But the inland situation of Poland, and the disposition of the Poles, averse to internal trade and prone to agricultural pursuits, offers a peculiar advantage to its maritime and commercial neighbours. While Jews and other strangers engröss its home trade, the exportation of its commodities cannot be effected without the intervention of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians. The former have a more especial share in it ; besides that, Dantzick may be reckoned permanently Prussian, and Courland Russian, the port of Memel is the outlet for those immense forests so commodiously situated on the Niemen ; Pillau is another great Polish outlet, while Riga depends much on the Northern parts of Lithuania for its trade, and the Ukraine floats its wealth down the rivers which feed the Russian commerce on the Black Sea. Russia has always shewn peculiar anxiety for extending her commerce. Rich in territory to superfluity, mistress of a whole continent, she has seemed anxious about acquiring every little

fragment of sea coast. Ship building, and the carrying trade are favourite objects in this kind of policy ; and Poland presents endless facilities for both. The civilization of the interior and distant parts of the Empire, is believed to be best promoted by the commerce with the East ; and the Polish market in Eastern commodities, is almost wholly supplied by Russia.

Now to describe the effects of the system pursued in Poland upon its commercial resources from the custom-house books of Dantzick or Riga, would be a vain mode of reasoning, in which, and justly, little confidence might be placed. Calculations generally are not worth much in political discussions, and least of all, should they be resorted to, when the necessary tendency of the circumstances in question is so plain, that no details of their effects could either illustrate or disprove it. Who that looks to the state in which the Poles have been kept by their new governments, would think of waiting for the port-returns, before he inferred that their national prosperity has been stunted ? Who would believe those returns, if they led to the opposite conclusion ? It is far more rational to look towards the condition of the people.

The system of the three Courts has uniformly been to treat their Polish subjects as a conquered, yet a foreign race ; as wholly under their dominion, but not their property ; as persons in whose welfare they had no interest, although nominally a



part of themselves\*. I desire to be understood as imputing no blame whatever to the authors of a policy, the necessary consequence of the partition. It has resulted from the well-grounded conviction on their part, that the Poles detested their yoke, and were devoted with their whole heart and soul to the liberation of their country.—The gallant resistance made to the final dismemberment under circumstances manifestly desperate; the peculiar tenacity of the people in holding by their national distinctions; the universal enthusiasm for Poland which prevails among them, from the earliest age, and equally in both sexes; the constant ebullitions of their feelings against their masters; have implanted in the individual subjects as well as the Cabinets of the partitioning powers, the principle that every Pole is an object of suspicion, and in the Poles, the feeling that every Russian and German is an enemy. Perhaps our own consciences in this country may suggest some parallel cases.

When nations are thus circumstanced, it is of comparatively little moment how their rulers conduct themselves. If the Sovereign had no other thought than the kind treatment of Poland; if his parental cares, instead of ranging over All the Russias, were confined to this corner of his vast dominions; were he to occupy his whole time in

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\* This remark applies much less strongly to the Prussian Government.

superintending the execution of his beneficent decrees; it would not be possible for a conciliatory government to exist where each village was inhabited by Poles, and governed by Russians. Extraordinary vigilance in checking abuses—a vigilance scarcely to be expected from a government situated at a distance, and distracted by the immensity of its empire—might perhaps somewhat mitigate the evil; but the vice is in the system; and resembles the grand flaw in our West Indian settlements, where the best intentions of the proprietor towards his negroes, are frustrated by the necessity of entrusting the execution of them to agents of the worst description.

Without denying, then, that the governments of the three nations have sought to derive profit from their Polish dominions, by methods of management highly injurious, and increasing the inherent evils of the case; let us cast our eye back to the immediate and very natural consequences of the Partition.

The plan of confiscating the lands of all persons who attempt any thing against the state, and rewarding services with those lands, has been peculiarly fruitful of misery to the country. Each partition has been followed with an enormous transference and destruction of property\*. Every

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\* The details of this afflicting subject are sufficiently known

movement of the Poles or march of foreign troops has had a similar consequence ; and at all times an accusation of disaffection has been too favourably listened to where a favourite was to be provided for. Some idea may be formed of the scale on which courtly merit is rewarded in those parts by the well-known history of many famous professors. Menzicoff, who rose from a drummer boy to be more than once Regent of the empire, derived from royal grants estates so extensive, that in journeying from the Baltic to the Caspian, through 15 degrees of latitude and 27 of longitude, he could, it is said, sleep every night on his own property\*. It is not indeed every day, that such full-grown favourites are to be supported ; but a multitude of smaller fry are every where seen to follow the marauders in chief ; many are sharp enough to scent their prey from the capital, and even where appetite is not the motive, revenge or spite seldom fails to aid the progress of those nimble functionaries. The first step upon a charge being preferred, was to carry off the accused person seven or eight hundred miles on his way towards Siberia. If he underwent some sort of examination it was at a distance

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without having recourse to that record so well named "*The Black Book.*" Berlin, 1795.

\* Rulhiere, i, 149.

alike from his friends, his resources, and his proofs. His property in the mean time was all put in sequestration, and an exact inventory taken and transmitted to the Commission of Confiscations, which is opened as a matter of course each time a Russian army enters Poland. If the Commission pleased, it might declare the property confiscated, together with all debts due to the owner, without waiting for the result of his examination, which was indeed a mere form in almost every case. Should any happy accident procure his acquittal before the decree of confiscation, he might return and look for his possessions, but he in vain endeavoured to recognise them. They had been many months in the custody of persons (probably the informers or accusers) who had taken all that could be moved into safe-keeping, and imprinted indelible marks of their residence upon all the rest.

If a proprietor of an estate happened to be absent, the presumption was instantaneous that he must be with the enemy, and confiscation followed of course. All those accidentally abroad were ruined in this manner, although they had for the most part gone in time of peace, with passports from the government on account of business, amusement, or health. The maxim, "*que les absens ont toujours tort*," is not exclusively French.—By a still greater refinement, when a mortgaged estate has been confiscated, and the estates of the proprietor situated abroad at some future change of dominion



have come under the power of government, he has had to pay the money secured on the land first confiscated.

It is sufficiently obvious that systematic rapine, under the colour of legal powers, has not been the only, perhaps not the worst suffering of the Polish proprietor since 1772. Wherever troops marched at any time, their progress was marked by devastation. Where they happened to be stationed the neighbourhood was like a place recently taken by storm. Besides the ordinary complement of troops, which was always far greater in proportion than were ever maintained upon their own territory, battalions were constantly passing and repassing in all directions, entering the country naked, and only remaining in it long enough to be completely equipped at its expence. Civil as well as military agents regarded every thing Polish at all times as made for their use, and the spirit remaining in the owner only exposed his person to insults, which a tamer proprietor would have escaped in losing his possessions. Upon one occasion, as if all that commissions had confiscated and armies eaten up—all the regular plunder and all the destruction sanctioned, or rather coloured by forms or ceremonies, had been inadequate to consume the chances of national improvement; as if it were dreaded lest the old proverb, that "*Poland takes only three years to repair itself*," might prove true, even under a system for which it never could have been intended; a

blow was aimed at every thing like credit in domestic transactions, unparalleled in any other country. From time immemorial all the dealings of the Polish proprietors, whether in buying and selling, or letting, or borrowing, have been transacted by themselves or their deputies at the great assemblages holden twice a year, and known by the name of the "*Contracts*." It is an usage derived from the low state of commerce, and the martial habits of the people. At those seasons the money received is deposited with bankers of good credit who attend for the purpose, and undertake the custody and employment of it, paying interest; and as may easily be imagined, their intervention saves the necessity of actually carrying to the meeting all the money transferred.\* Previous to the Second Partition, there were six or seven great houses in this line, whose concerns extended all over the country. By far the first in credit and wealth was that of Tepper, the nephew of Ferguson, a Scotchman, the founder of it. By various artifices, in which the usual baits of titles and orders were, with a nice discernment of the national character, joined to the promise of a large estate, he was induced by the agents of the Allied Courts to take steps ruinous to his credit; and particularly to lend their employers immense sums of money. The day of payment was before the *Contracts* in 1792; but instead of paying, the borrowing parties themselves

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\* As in the *Settling house* in London.

issued at the expected time the declaration of war, and marched an army to back it. The alarm suspended the usual assemblage; Tepper found neither the money due, nor the new funds on which he had calculated, nor the credit which enabled him to retain former deposits; his total failure ensued, and with it that of all the other bankers at one blow. The ruin of thousands of families which followed, and the permanent injury to credit and agriculture, may easily be conceived. A government commission, however, followed also, for the purpose of settling the affairs of the general bankruptcy; it sat for ten years; it paid considerably less than two shillings in the pound; the funds were by this time exhausted; and the ten commissioners, after living so long on the produce, retired, some of them to the quiet enjoyment of princely fortunes acquired in the *rigorous* and *unremitting* discharge of their duties.

A system like this affects not the proprietors only. Where the lower orders are so much dependent on them as in Poland, the ruin of a landlord is to all his peasants, the loss of a parent and protector; the exchange of a landlord or his chosen steward, for an administrator and his harpies appointed under a sequestration, or for the alien agent of the wasteful favourite to whom the grant is made, brings with it the universal and lasting misery of all the cultivators. This is a proposition too clear to require illustration; our West Indian possessions would furnish abundance of parallel instances if they were wanted; and some parts of our

European dominions might, upon an emergency, be cited with a similar view. But the most crying of all the evils which the unhappy Poles have suffered, the exile from their country, in all her misery ever dear to the most wretched of them, has fallen upon every class alike. The ancient prelate of Cracow, one of the highest dignitaries in the Christian Church, hurried away from his flock to linger out the remains of his venerable age in the wilds of Asia, was only suffered to revisit his See after he had survived his reason. Above a hundred persons of eminence for rank, wealth, or public merit, have, in one season, been swept off in the Metropolis, to the amazement of their fellow citizens; accustomed to regard them with reverence. We may form to ourselves some idea of the consternation, which such an event happening in a town like Manchester, Glasgow, or Liverpool, would produce. If the influence or dignity of the highest station did not protect from such violence, the obscurity of the most humble afforded no shelter. Not only the peasantry were forced off by thousands to the army, and without any regular system or proportion; but private persons armed with authority, would, under pretence of raising men, carry away as many as it pleased them, and dispose of their persons in the neighbouring provinces, where men were saleable by law. One magistrate has, at a sweep, seized in this way some hundreds. The public, in like manner, has fre-

quently executed plans for peopling districts in Siberia on the same principle. Professor Pallas relates a most affecting scene in that remote desert, where he found a tribe of Poles, the remains of many thousands thus torn from their country without even the pretext of an accusation. Time and the extremity of distress had stifled the desire of revisiting Poland ; all that those unhappy beings implored, was the intercession of the traveller at court, that their little allotments might not, as heretofore, be taken from them as soon as their toils had brought them into what is reckoned cultivation in those dreary regions.

It is desirable to avoid all recollections which only lead to unavailing irritation ; conciliation ought now to be the only object ; I pass over, therefore, the horrors which have, at various times, been exercised by the soldiery. For the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped that a monster like Drewitz, may never again be born of woman ; and if it be impossible to forget the massacres of Praga, let us endeavour to draw a veil over them, when we reflect, that in return for all his victories, their author experienced only the fickleness of those courts and the cold neglect of that multitude which once adored him.

Such has been the system pursued under Catherine and her immediate successor. In the present reign, it is well known, that favourites have no longer an ascendant ; nevertheless, the Petersburg Gazette records, that a Commission of Confiscations has been

assembled at Wilna since the end of 1812, and gives, from time to time, Lists of property confiscated; other estates without number have been sequestrated, and, no doubt, such of their owners as could be found, sent to Siberia. Nothing but the well known solicitude of the present Emperor for the good of his subjects could prevent the same wholesale dealings in plunder, which we have been contemplating under his predecessors, from being repeated at the present time. His Imperial Majesty's truly parental care for all classes of his people is universally acknowledged. He has the rare excellence too of thinking for himself, and not seeing with the eyes of his ministers. But, unhappily for the multitude of nations under his sway, he must act by the hands of others; and the best intentions, the wisest and most beneficent views, are too likely to be lost in the conduct of the agents, whom it is necessary to entrust with their fulfilment. Nothing but a change of the system can mitigate the evils which necessarily result from it, and are not imputable to the rulers who have received it from their ancestors.

Now it is quite manifest, that all the misery which we have been contemplating, can have produced, even directly, little or no gain to the government, while it deprived the country of the resources which it would otherwise have possessed. A few favourites were enriched, or some little facility afforded to the treasury, at the expense of all the solid wealth which a peaceable intercourse with



Poland would pour into the private and public coffers of her neighbours. The Prussian and Austrian provinces have not perhaps so deeply felt the change; the former especially, in which, though the regular taxes are heavier than in any of the others, the state has generally paid for whatever was furnished beyond the contributions: The policy of Austria has more nearly resembled that of Catherine.

I should conclude then without much hesitation, that if all political considerations were out of the case, and it were merely a question of profit, of national economy, the termination of a system which has a necessary tendency to destroy all the sources of national prosperity, would be as befitting the wisdom as it is worthy of the magnanimity of the illustrious Masters of Poland. But how much more cogent are the reasons for this change, when we come to reflect upon the weakness that has resulted to each of them from the partition in a *military* point of view, and the vast addition which might be derived to their security against the common enemy from a change of policy.

The fatal act which scattered the seeds of destruction through the system of modern Europe, distributed amongst its authors, many millions of warlike, active, discontented, implacable subjects, ready at all times to rebel against them, and prepared to join their enemies as often as the faintest prospect presented itself of throwing off their yoke.

It is of no importance, except as a matter of curiosity, to inquire why the Poles are so vehemently attached to their country, so regardless of every thing that is usually called personal interest or advantage, when placed in competition with the object of their patriotic enthusiasm, the regaining an independent existence. Some may be disposed to think, that the treatment they have experienced not unnaturally leads their wishes in this direction; while others, taking, I think, a more correct and dispassionate view, may infer that somewhat of their sufferings has arisen from their invincible spirit, and may therefore look to their state of society for an explanation of that which is not a characteristic of higher stages of refinement. But the fact is certain; no one can have any doubt, that every Pole regards his present subjection as the last of curses, and is, above all human considerations, anxious to shake himself loose from it. What has been the consequence? Let the muster rolls of the French armies ever since the revolution tell—and the campaigns which bound the confederate powers in unequal league with France—and the invasion which shook the empire of the North, overthrowing its ancient capital—and the unparalleled defeats themselves of Napoleon, unable to detach the Pole from his standard, because it still was unfurled against his oppressors.

How many thousands of this devoted people have bled in the cause of French ambition in every part



of the world! How often have the hearts of impartial men been wrung by the unnatural sight, of Poles assisting in the subjugation of nations free and high spirited like themselves! Ill-fated Poniatowski! through all his illustrious course, ever most unfortunate when his cause was purest; happy only in closing it when there was no alternative but dishonour, and life must have been alike miserable in victory or defeat! Devoted from his earliest years to his country; seeking her enemies in every field; astonishing the veteran companions of Pulawski and Zarembo, by his romantic valour; the delight of the young and the gay whom he outshone in court and camp; the likeness of a king for dignity of presence, of an antient cavalier for his high-bred gallantry; zealous in friendship to which he would sacrifice all but honour and love; an enthusiast for liberty, but unmindful that there were other tyrants beside Frederick and Catherine—how melancholy to find him beguiled by the deceitful promises of one who never spoke of freedom but with the design to enslave! What a lesson to Princes, when they view the very flower of their subjects, the men best fitted to adorn and fortify their thrones, driven into exile, and submitting to those they should have fought against, after proving to the conviction of the coldest heart that wealth, honours, life itself, were indifferent to them without liberty! A superficial thinker only can severely blame such errors.

In the antagonists of those whom he thought his country's worst enemies, this gallant chief could only see her friends. But surely it needs no argument to prove that the system, which at any moment gives France the disposal of an army of Poles, under leaders like Poniatowski, is little calculated to secure the tranquillity of those who occupy Poland.

The exact number of men drawn by the enemy from this quarter, it is neither very easy, nor very material to ascertain. Since 1806, when he first held out hopes of restoring Poland, those numbers have greatly increased; and in the campaign of 1812, they did not fall short of 100,000. The insecurity of the tenure by which the country is held, may be seen from the events of the two Polish campaigns. Immediately after the battle of Jena, the Prussian troops were compelled to withdraw from Poland, as precipitately as the French have lately done from Holland. No exertion was too great for the country during that winter, notwithstanding the very imperfect degree in which its wishes were met. Bonaparte in flattering them with the hopes of independence, had imposed one very harsh condition, that the Code Napoleon should be established. Even on such terms, as if only anxious for existence, and careless of the kind of being they should have, they accepted the offer. Let us recollect that Emperors and Kings have in like manner received their crowns, fettered by conditions that almost enslaved them to their sub-

jects or electors. So the Poles *capitulated* for national existence, upon terms which could hardly be said to leave them a separate people. But they amply performed their part of the contract. The enthusiasm excited by the mere semblance of restoration was universal. Many persons sacrificed nearly their whole fortunes to the state. Entire regiments of between two and three thousand men each, were raised and fully equipped by individuals in a few weeks. Others furnished single battalions, or companies, or only a few men, according to their means; and all this—not from the superabundance of their wealth; not by the sale of their plate and jewels only—but by selling or pledging their estates, and parting with every thing that could raise a farthing, down to the marriage rings of village dames, or the single silver spoon of a poor country curate. The peace of Tilsit closed the campaign which had been so materially influenced by the exertions of Poland; and upon the first breaking out of the war two years afterwards, she evinced her sense of the benefits, unsubstantial as they were, which that treaty had conferred. The same extraordinary efforts were renewed, and the army of the Dutchy rapidly over-ran the Polish provinces of Austria, where they met with Allies in every corner. Indeed, similar exertions were made in those districts themselves, and they were rewarded by the incorporation of their better half with the Dutchy, at the peace of Vienna.

In 1812, a new attempt was made to sooth the

Polés, with the hope of real independance, although the alliance of France with Austria rendered it extremely difficult. The charm was again found all powerful ; the people flocked from every quarter to join the invading army, and expended their utmost means to supply it. I question if an equal amount of contribution was ever raised upon the same extent of a country merely agricultural ; and when we reflect that it had been exhausted by half a century of misfortune, the exertion seems scarcely credible. Beside the fixed war revenue of about five millions sterling, it furnished as much more in provisions and stores to the army on its passage, with a further sum of one million and a half in money. Such efforts, and the subsequent exhaustion of the country in 1813, may have drained it of wealth ;—but the people remain ; iron is their gold ; and if the Allies prefer the neighbourhood of an unconquerable and friendly nation, to an uneasy rule over hostile subjects, they have only to speak the word. Let but the sound be heard which can really awaken Polish independance ;—name to them the Constitution of the Third of May, and every plain will be alive with horse—every thicket of their forests gleam with spears. All that Napoleon could do by offers, insignificant had they been sincere, will be forgotten in the exertions which a substantial restoration would call forth. So impregnable a bulwark never was raised against invasion, as Russia would present



to all the rest of Europe, while Prussia and Austria would no longer touch upon that too powerful neighbour, and in a quarter where their security has been the most precarious\*.

The continuance of the war, or the prospect of peace, makes no difference to this argument. In the former case, there cannot surely be any doubt, that an immense advantage would accrue to the Allies from those almost unlimited supplies of brave men, which a perfect conciliation of the Poles must place at their entire disposal. On the other hand, I presume no man expects that any peace which can be made will extinguish the enemy's desire of once more disturbing the balance of the Continent, or leave him altogether unable to make the attempt. With the view of resisting his efforts, it will be something for the Allies to have deprived him of such an

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\* The eulogium of Mr. Burke on the Polish Constitution of the third of May, is unbounded. It concludes with this passage :  
 " Happy people, if they know how to proceed as they have begun ! Happy prince, worthy to begin with splendor or to close with glory a race of patriots and of kings."—" To finish all—this great good, as in the instant it is, contains in it the seeds of all future improvement, and may be considered as in a regular progress, because founded on similar principles, towards the stable excellence of a British Constitution."—*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*.—The passage in the former part of these reflections was printed, before I recollected the testimony of this great authority.

Ally as Poland; but it will be their own fault if the whole weight of that great country is not thrown into their scale.

I perceive a very obvious remark which may here be opposed to me. It will be said that the Poles are not likely soon to side actively with their present masters, or to forget their French connexions. But both parts of the observation proceed upon an imperfect view of the subject. The fact is, that the mutual hatred of the nations, has arisen entirely out of their mutual injuries. The natural tendency of the Poles and Russians, especially, is to live well together; and wherever they are settled in the same place without any power given to the one over the other; where for example, the peasants of the two nations mix, and the soldiery of the superior power does not interfere\*; the ties which ought in the ordinary course of things to bind them, resume their proper force. Those ties are indeed powerful enough; the two nations are of the same Slavonian origin; they speak dialects of the same language; and their customs are not very dissimilar. In

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\* The extraordinary difference between Russian peasants and Russian soldiers is too notorious to require observation. By Russian, however, is to be understood the inhabitant of the really Russian governments, the Slavonians; and not the Germans, Swedes, Finns, Tartars, &c. Now it is the Slavonian part of the population that chiefly borders upon Poland.

Bohemia it has been found impossible, after many centuries of incorporation, to blend together the Slavonian and Teutonic races; the same repugnance has never in any degree been observed between the Russians and Poles. It is well known, that notwithstanding all the dissensions occasioned by the transactions of the last half century, if in any quarter the Russian soldiery have been better behaved than usual, remained longer in the same spot, and treated it as a friendly territory, and not as a place just stormed; the never failing consequence has been an affectionate conduct on the part of the natives, and a closeness of intercourse resembling the intimacy of fellow subjects. The argument against the present system is founded, not on the impossibility of reconciling the Poles to the Russians, but on the extreme difficulty of making the Russians, while scattered over Poland, act in a conciliating manner. But if Russia were to withdraw her troops, and re-establish the independance of the country, not only the ground of disunion would be at end; the most boundless gratitude would succeed.—It is equally erroneous to suppose that the French are at all popular in Poland. The despair of the people, and their ardent desire of liberation, made them listen to the offers of Buonaparte; to those offers they have listened more than once, even after finding how little his boons were substantial.—Nor will I take upon me to say, that they may not lend an ear once again

to the tempter; but of this I am morally certain, that two things must concur to seduce them;—the Allies must continue to treat Poland as a fund of compensations and indemnities in their negotiations, while each uses his own share as a theatre of spoil—and Buonaparte must in good earnest pledge himself to restore its existence as a nation. This he never yet has broadly done, because he has always been hampered with his Alliances; yet we have seen what mischiefs his partial offers, have in each campaign enabled him, with the aid of one division of the country, to bring upon the possessors of the others. If the Allies were at once to make this sacrifice to justice and principle, no one who knows any thing of the Polish nation can doubt, that all such views are for ever closed on France, and the attachment of this gallant warm-hearted people, transferred for ever to their preservers.

Another observation may be anticipated from what I have just now remarked. It cannot be denied that the influence of Russia in the councils of Poland would be preponderating; she might not retain possession of it, as she now does, with the exception of Eastern Gallicia; but for a long time at least, the restored kingdom, how independant soever, would lean upon that powerful neighbour. Hence it may be said that Prussia and Austria would feel the effects of the change; that in short, a considerable weight would be thrown into the scale



of Russia. If on the other hand, any scheme short of a complete restoration, were adopted under the protection of Russia, it may be contended, that the argument would acquire still greater force.

I am quite aware of the difficulty, but it is capable of a very satisfactory solution. In truth, Prussia and Austria would not be more exposed to danger from Russia, through Poland, in either of the cases contemplated, than they are at present, and always have been since the year 1772. I shall explain myself, after premising that all such discussions, although they presuppose some evil intentions on the part of Russia, are quite fair; because however remote the possibility of such changes may be, no one can answer for the views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, under some Prince of a different character from the truly illustrious personage now on the throne.

The supposition then is, that Russia may use against the security of her neighbours, the vast resources of Poland, which the attachment of the people would place at her disposal. But may she not do the same at this moment, and has she not had this power ever since the first partition? Suppose, (to try the matter fairly), that by the peace, each of the three powers resumes its Polish provinces as they stood in 1795; and that Russia is desirous of effectually attacking Austria and Prussia; she has only to declare Poland independent;

they lose their shares, and she becomes impregnable on the side towards them; she may, in all safety, give the Poles time for *organizing* their strength, (to use a modish phrase) and then pursue against her two neighbours her further plans with this powerful assistance. The Poles surely will not be the less devoted to her, or the less ready instruments in executing those plans, because they owe the whole change to her bounty, and are informed, as the first manifesto will of course state, with a great semblance of truth, that the war is undertaken for their independence. This seems quite decisive of the question. In point of fact, the idea has never practically been lost sight of. I doubt if there be one politician at Vienna or Berlin, but especially the former who has not at one time or another of his life heard the threat "*dans ce cas la on vous fera sauter la Pologne.*" I am sure, if he has not heard it as a menace from without, he has often listened to it as a possibility suggested by prudence. Has not the fact demonstrated the facility with which such a threat might be executed? France has successively conquered the three parts of Poland; two of them entirely, the third most materially by the aid of the power to which I am alluding—the offer of independence—and without employing any thing like its full force. By a partial and constrained use of this mighty engine, she stript Prussia in 1806, and Austria 1809. In 1812, she shook the empire of all the Russias, and had she waited half a year longer, and established Poland in the interval, it

would in all human probability, have given her entire success.

But if it should be said, that while Russia retains her share of Poland, there is less probability of her invading the other two powers by its means; the answer is, that she may at any day erect Poland, not into a really independent kingdom, but into a state under her dominion, though with a constitution of its own, (attached to her as Hungary is to Austria) and that this would give her a still more complete controul over its resources. Next to entire independence, this is, unquestionably, the plan which would most conduce to the advantage and flatter the passions of the Poles—perhaps it would be the most agreeable to Russia; but is it equally safe for her neighbours? I presume there cannot be a doubt, that the complete restoration of Poland, by the common consent of the three powers, all joining with the rest of Europe to guarantee its independence, would be the plan most favourable to the three powers taken together; it might not be the best for Russia in relation to the other two, but it is unquestionably the safest for them. Then this of itself becomes a reason for Russia preferring it on an enlarged view of her interests. If an arrangement were concluded, which should leave Austria and Prussia at her mercy, either by incorporating all Poland with her empire, or by restoring it as a separate state under her dominion, there would soon be an end of the cordial union which has freed the Continent; and the fear of Russia

would open an inlet for intrigues by which France might again pave the way to universal empire.

But it is the part of practical wisdom, when that which is most desirable is unattainable, to be satisfied with the lesser good which is within reach, and not to abandon all chance of improvement in despair. If, unhappily, there should exist a decided repugnance to make Poland independent, the benefits will not be inconsiderable, either to Europe or the Poles themselves, of some such arrangement as has just been hinted at. It should even seem not impossible to reconcile the peculiar interests of the three courts, with the universal wish of the Poles to see their country revived as a separate state. Next to complete independence, and, as far as the people are concerned, equal to it, would certainly be the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, with the constitution of the Third of May somewhat modified, under some branch of the Imperial Families. The investment of the Emperor of Russia, with the dignity of king of Poland and the establishment of the same constitution as nearly as this circumstance would permit, is another scheme, which, though far short of independence, would combine many advantages. I have already discussed almost every point which bears upon this plan, in the foregoing reflections. Under proper regulations, it would leave the Poles infinitely improved in their condition, though undoubtedly it would be less favourable to the neighbouring states,

For the interests of the people, indeed, any

change would be most important, which should unite the separated provinces under any one government; and on the other hand the event which they have most to dread, is a new partition of what description soever. Beside the various evils already pointed out, which must assuredly result from all such divisions, there is one so important as to merit a further attention. The changing of the frontiers produces the most serious evils to the neighbouring inhabitants. All who live on or near the borders, suffer extremely. Property is divided, and the proprietor exposed to incredible vexations. He cannot without a passport obtained at a vast distance go from one farm to another. When he is permitted to travel, he undergoes detention, search, all the annoyances of the custom house. Much extortion is, of course, practised under colour of duty; and the vicinity of a foreign state is the pretext of various oppressions upon the people, as well as the cause of many disorders amongst them. While courts are apt to fall out with each other, it is no trifling evil to possess estates, as many of the great proprietors do, in two, or in all the three parts. They are pretty sure to suffer severely from one or other of their masters, let them hold what line of conduct they may. But perhaps there is nothing in the effects of such changes more vexatious than the severe necessity of serving against each other, which they impose upon relatives and friends, and persons united by the ties of neighbourhood or de-

pendence; thus converting into a civil contest almost every war that breaks out. The changes of frontier to which Poland has been subjected, are, I think, not sufficiently considered. First, the partition of 1772, drew four sets of lines in different directions. Immediately afterwards, Austria was dissatisfied, and mistaking the name of a river, took in a small but convenient territory by a new line. Prussia said, (we have it under Frederick's hand) that if Austria made mistakes, so could other people, and he followed her example in the North. In 1793, new lines were drawn by all the three powers; and in 1795 they completed their work by describing the last great boundaries that have been drawn. But in 1806, the Prussians were driven out, which was equivalent to another change of boundary; and by the peace of Tilsit, the district of Bialystock was transferred from the new Dutchy to Russia. In 1809, Austrian Poland was cut in twain, and half given to the Dutchy; the district of Tarnopol was also handed over to Russia. Is it possible to reflect on the situation of a country thus unceasingly cut in pieces, without feeling the deepest compassion for the vast amount of individual misery which all those violent operations must have occasioned?

A most serious calamity resulting from them is the change of laws which they involve in almost each case. The Russian parts of Poland have indeed preserved their ancient municipal laws; but Austria and Prussia have introduced



their own codes, and Buonaparte has followed their example. Hence Galicia has undergone these revolutions within forty years: at first the government was provisional, and in part military; no regular system of jurisprudence was established till 1774, when the Austrian law was introduced, and the provinces added in 1793 and 1794, were subjected to the same system: In 1800 the new code prepared by Martini was proclaimed: In 1809, Western Galicia being incorporated with the Dutchy, received the Code Napoleon; and Tarnopol, a part of Eastern Galicia, being given to Russia, the old Polish law was restored to it.—Prussian Poland received the Frederician code at each partition; in 1807 the bulk of it was subjected to the Code Napoleon, and Bialystock was restored to the Polish law. Now all those systems of jurisprudence are wholly unlike each other in their principles and forms, both civil and criminal, except that Martini's code was merely civil, and by a strange anomaly left the old form of proceedings while it overturned the principles. We may imagine how searching the operations are of such changes. To be guaranteed against any future revolutions of this kind, even were they unaccompanied with confiscations and military execution, would be a solid and general benefit to the people; it would be the foundation stone of a tranquillity and security which they have never known. Who can think without repugnance on the bare possibility of the present successes all over Europe, ending in

a renewal of those afflicting operations in Poland;—that when the rest of the world, awakened to peace, shall be looking back on the last twenty years as a long and frightful dream, the happy change should only be to Poland the beginning of new troubles; and the signal for the ancient principalities and powers taking up the dismal tale of violence which they have been compelling the children of revolution to lay down? Grant that Poland deserves punishment, though I conceive this has been fully disproved—has she not been sufficiently tormented? Or will those who hold seven years possession and a compulsory treaty as making unimpeachable title to the fruits of princely rapine, allow, when the people err, no atonement in half a century of misery—no expiatory virtue in patriotism sealed with blood?

I expect to hear some persons in this country declare their indifference to the fate of the Polish people, on the ground that they are a nation of slaves. This arises from an ignorance of the fact. Even before the formal liberation of the peasantry, by the Constitution of the Third of May, 1791, they were only in name the property of their lords. Manners, and the evident interest of the proprietor, had in later times, reduced the actual exercise of his authority to a very small matter, and in the vast majority of cases it was next to nothing. I have already remarked that the effects of any misfortunes happening to the proprietor, are most direct and sensible in the lot of all his peasants, whose individual comforts suffer severely. With respect to



political feeling, unquestionably, the other classes are most to be considered. The nobles of the highest order are few in number, and their estates very large, some of them having much above an hundred thousand peasants, that is, having estates on which so many inhabitants live. The next class comprehends all the other nobles having property in land, and includes the large body of what we should call the gentry or proprietors. The third class is still more numerous; they are nobles as to privileges, but they have no landed property, and are not restrained by any law or custom from engaging in every species of employment, civil or military, from the highest to the lowest. To this may be added a number of merchants, artificers, and of peasants who have acquired property; so that independant of the cultivators, there is a very numerous body, constituted pretty much in point of practical effect, like the upper and middle classes of society in other countries. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that the feelings of national spirit do not at all reach to the common peasantry. The facts have on every occasion, but more especially of late years, shewn the reverse to be the case. It may be asserted, with safety, that though the whole nation is in an inferior state of improvement, and the want of education is most sensibly felt among all classes, the materials of patriotism are not wanting even in the most humble stations. It is rather too late in the world to pretend that this principle bears a very exact proportion to refine-

ment ; or indeed to the advantages enjoyed by the people. Even the destitution of political rights, which is more immediately connected with the love of our country, seems to affect it, less than could, prior to experience, have been imagined. But I return to my purpose, which is not so much to state the case of the Poles, as to shew how their neighbours and Europe generally, are interested in their restoration.

Russia perhaps more than any other country has suffered by their calamities, and would gain by putting an end to them. Indeed, when we reflect upon the history of Poland, there is nothing more unaccountable than the blindness of the Russian policy in relation to its affairs. That Prussia should have run the risk of coming in contact with so terrible a neighbour, for the sake of a peculiarly convenient accession of territory, seems not very inconsistent with the ordinary miscalculations of royal avidity ; and Austria might look for security to her immense resources, if indeed she was seriously consulted in the transaction. But to discover what interest Russia could have in giving up two-thirds of a country which she almost managed as she chose, and might have rendered her devoted adherent, in order to gain entire possession of the remainder, extent of territory being precisely what she the least wanted, seems so great a puzzle, that the dealers in *secret history* have not failed to offer different solutions after their manner. One, upon the authority of a Prussian Minister, in

forms us that Frederick and Maria Theresa first agreed to the partition and drew Catherine into it. Another cites three Private Secretaries of Prince Henry, to prove that Catherine was the proposer of it, and that Austria was not originally a party. A third gives the credit of the project to the Prince himself. A fourth, ascribing it to his brother, dwells upon the repugnance of the Empress Queen. And a fifth, backed by two Austrian ministers and one French, states the accession of that great Princess to have been almost compulsory, and, as it were, dictated by the refusal of France to interfere.

Have we not at length reached the day when all those difficulties are only the amusements of the curious—when the partition is really about to “become a matter of history”—when the enlightened and virtuous successors of those mighty masters of the world, are resolved to shew that with far more power over the destinies of their species, they have the higher wisdom of seeking its good—the purer ambition of using victories more brilliant than theirs to regain the empire lost by them in the affections of mankind?

That the inclinations of the Allies will lead them to such glorious deeds, we have no right to doubt: But it becomes the people of England and her government to manifest betimes a feeling for the best interests of the coalition. We are surely not now to draw back from continental affairs as if we lived in another hemisphere, and had borne no share in the contest about to close. We have many fair

claims to interpose our counsels, and it is none of the least that they are free from suspicion. We cannot perhaps say that we are quite so disinterested in the freedom of Europe, as we might have been had a wiser policy kept the natural relations of amity with America unbroken. If the system had been adopted a few weeks earlier, to which we ultimately had recourse, we should not have been dependant on the Continent for our trade, and at all events the secrets of our domestic distresses would not have been revealed; the Continent as well as America would have remained uncertain how much we owed them. But although this misfortune should deprive us of the commanding ground on which we might have negotiated, a wise and efficient government may bring great weight into the scale, and interfere with its councils above all suspicion of selfish views, because we seek no territory, and our interests are best promoted by the advancement of the general good.

Shall we then, as heretofore, only allow ourselves to be consulted when money is wanted? Are we indeed a nation of shopkeepers? Our indignation at the sarcasm is hardly cooled, but this would truly be taking a strange opportunity of confessing its application. Heaven knows the sums it has cost us to conceal our honest calling; but this would be proclaiming it in the face of all the world, as openly as if we were still nailed to the counter—it would be forcing ourselves into good company where we

were afraid of opening our mouths for fear of betraying our civic origin—or only adventuring a remark when the conversation turned upon scrip. Let us hope that those days are over—that England is no longer afraid or ashamed to take her own place—and will not any more be personated abroad by a bill-broker.

The government of this country is now in the hands of men whom their best friends are, in all probability, somewhat anxious about; wishing, peradventure, that they had either more strength or less work to do. But if they represent its interests and principles as Englishmen ought upon this most important occasion; if they take an honest view of the only true grounds upon which the work so gloriously begun by the Allies can be compleated; as matters now stand they will in all likelihood act right and be successful. Those principles begin and end in **RESTORATION**. The signature of a treaty on this basis will indeed be a happy day for mankind, and a proud one for all who have contributed to its success by their sacrifices, of what kind soever. For the first time in history we shall see power attested by moderation—conquerors returning in triumph to dominions reduced in extent—and unexampled victories which cause no tears to flow—but the tears of gratitude from Poland.

**THE END.**



